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SIGLA

AA	Anaphorae Armeniacae (Roma 2001 ss.)
AASS	Acta Sanctorum (Antverpiae et alibi 1643 ss.)
AB	Analecta Bollandiana
ACO	Eduardus Schwartz, *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* (Berolini 1914 ss.)
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung
AO	Anaphorae Orientales (Roma 2001 ss.)
AOC	Archives de l'Orient Chrétien
AS	Anaphorae Syriacae (Roma 1939 ss.)
BBGG	Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata
BHG	François Halkin, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* (Bruxelles 1957^{3})
BHO	Paul Peeters, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis* (Bruxelles 1910)
BiO	Bibliotheca Orientalis (Leiden 1943/44 ss.)
BO	Josephus Simonius Assemanus, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana* (Romae 1719, 1721, 1725, 1728) (repr. Hildesheim 1975)
Brightman	Frank Edward Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, I: *Eastern Liturgies* (Oxford 1896)
BSAC	Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte
BV	Bogoslovskij Vestnik
Byz	Byzantion
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
CCEO	Codex Canonum Ecclesiarum Orientalium (Città del Vaticano 1990) (fontium annotatione auctus, 1995)
CCG	Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca (Turnhout 1971 ss.)
CCL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina (Turnhout 1953 ss.)
CerVed	Cerkovnye Vedomosti
ChrČt	Christianskoe Čtenie
CICO	Codex Iuris Canonici Orientalis (Città del Vaticano 1957-1958)
COD	Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta (Bologna 1973^{3})
ConcFI	Concilium Florentinum. Documenta et Scriptores voll. I-XI (Roma 1940-1976)
CPG	Mauritius Geerard et alii, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* (Turnhout 1974 ss)
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (Louvain 1903 ss.)
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Wien 1866 ss.)
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae (Bonn 1828-1897)
ČtOIDR	Čtenija v Imperatorskom Obščestve Istorii Drevnostej Rossii
DACL	Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie
DDC	Dictionnaire de Droit Canonique
Denzinger, RO	Henricus Denzinger, *Ritus Orientalium* . . . I-II (Würzburg 1863-1864)
DHGE	Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques (Paris 1912 ss.)
Dmitrievskij	Aleksej A. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie Liturgičeskich rukopisej chranjaščichsja v bibliotekach pravoslavnago vostoka*, I-II (Kiev 1895, 1901) III (Petrograd 1917, repr. Hildesheim 1965)
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
DSp	Dictionnaire de Spiritualité
DTC	Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique
Dz	Henricus Denzinger et Adolphus Schönmetzer, *Enchiridion ... symbolorum* (Freiburg im Br. 1965^{33})
EL	Ephemerides liturgicae
EO	Échos d'Orient
FCCO	Fonti. Codificazione Canonica Orientale (Roma 1930 ss.)
Funk I-II	F. X. Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum* I-II (Paderborn 1905)
GAL	Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur* (Weimar 1898) II (Leiden 1912)
GAL2 I-II	*Idem* I-II (Leiden, 1943-1949)
GALS I-III	*Idem*, Supplementbände I-III (Leiden 1937, 1938, 1942)
GAS	Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* (Leiden 1968 ss.)
GCAL	Georg Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, ST 118, 133, 146, 172 (Città del Vaticano 1944, 1947, 1949, 1951, 1953)
GCS / GCSNF	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller (Berlin 1897 ss.) / neue Folge (1995 ss.)
Goar	Jacobus Goar, *Euchologion sive Rituale graecorum* (Venezia 1730^{2} repr. Graz 1960)

GSL	Anton Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (Bonn 1922)
HOr	Handbuch der Orientalistik (Leiden – Köln 1952 ss.)
Irén	Irénikon
JAC	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
JÖB	Jahrbuch der Byzantinischen Gesellschaft (Wien 1951-68); deinde Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik (Wien 1969 ss.)
JTS	The Journal of Theological Studies
LMD	La Maison-Dieu
LOC	Eusèbe Renaudot, *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio*, 2 vol. (Francofurti 1847^2)
LQF	Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen, deinde Liturgiewissenschaftliche Q. u. F. (1957 ss.)
LTK^{1-2-3}	Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche (1930, 1957, 1993)
Mansi	Johannes Dominicus Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (1759 ss.)
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica inde ab anno 500 usque ad annum 1500 (Hannover 1826 ss.)
Metzger I-III	Marcel Metzger, *Les Constitutions Apostoliques*, SC 320, 329, 336 (Paris 1985, 1986, 1987)
Mus	Le Muséon
MUSJ	Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph (Beyrouth)
OC	Oriens Christianus
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta
OCh	Orientalia Christiana
OCP	Orientalia Christiana Periodica
ODB	The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium (New York / Oxford 1991)
OKS	Ostkirchliche Studien
OLP	Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica
OLZ	Orientalische Literaturzeitung
OS	L'Orient Syrien
PalSb	Palestinskij Sbornik
Pauly-Wissowa	Paulys Realenzyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft
PG	Jacobus Paulus Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* (Paris 1857-1866)
PL	Jacobus Paulus Migne, *Patrologia Latina* (Paris 1841-1864)
PO	Patrologia Orientalis (Paris 1903 ss.)
POC	Proche-Orient Chrétien
PravEn	Pravoslavnaja Enciklopedija (Moskva 2000 ss.)
PS	Patrologia Syriaca, I-III (Paris 1897, 1907, 1927)
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum
RBK	Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst
REArm	Revue de Études Arméniennes
RByz	Reallexikon der Byzantinistik
REB	Revue des Études Byzantines
RechBeyr	Recherches publiées sous la direction de l'Institut des Lettres Orientales de Beyrouth
Reg	Venance Grumel, *Régestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople* (Paris 1932-47)
Rhallis-Potlis	G. A. Rhallis et M. Potlis, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων* (ἐν Ἀθήναις 1852-1859)
RHE	Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique
ROC	Revue de l'Orient Chrétien
RSBN	Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici
SC	Sources Chrétiennes (Paris 1941 ss.)
ST	Studi e Testi (Città del Vaticano 1900 ss.)
SVNC	Angelo Mai, *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio* 10 voll. (Romae 1825-1838)
SynOr	Jean-Baptiste Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale ou Recueil des synodes nestoriens* (Paris 1902)
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
VC	Vigiliae Christianae
VV	Vizantijskj Vremennik
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins
ŽMP	Žurnal Moskovskoj Patriarchij

George Nedungatt, S.J.

Ius divinum

In this article I shall first formulate the problem of ius divinum (1) and then make a brief survey of the related terminology (2). For greater clarity in the traditional understanding of ius divinum we shall examine its use in the two codes of canon law (3). I shall then make a survey of the recent discussion of ius divinum (4). Finally, I shall make a critical synthesis of this discussion (5) before concluding with a scholion on ius divinum in Islam.

1. *The Problem of ius divinum*

The problem of ius divinum can be formulated from different standpoints. If Yahweh is the single legislator of Israel, the chosen people of God, the law of Israel is divine law, ius divinum. And if ius divinum is immutable, the OT law is binding on the Church. What is the theological status of canon law (*ius canonicum*) as the law of the Church with reference to divine law (*ius divinum*)?

The problem of ius divinum may be formulated also from the standpoint of Christology and ecclesiology. Christ, the new Moses and lawgiver, says, "This is my commandment that you love one another as I have loved you" (Jn 13:12); and Paul teaches "One who loves another has fulfilled the law" (Rm 13:8). Is then the law of love the only 'constitutional law' of the messianic people, which is the Church (LG 9)? If so, what is the theological justification of canon law?

From the anthropological standpoint the problem of ius divinum may be formulated as follows. Is not the commandment of love, associated with the new covenant, a law common to all humanity and pre-existing the coming of Christ? What then is specifically different in the law of the Church?

From an ecumenical standpoint the question of ius divinum is very pertinent and important. All the Churches and ecclesial communities regard that in their canon law or church order there is a basic element that is not negotiable, something that marks its identity, something so fundamental that it cannot be changed or modified by any human authority. It must be left intact in any reform of canon law or updating of church order. Not to do so would be the betrayal of the very identity of the respective Church

or ecclesial community. Here no compromise is possible, no concession to irenicism, no application of *oikonomia.* All ecumenical dialogue must become mute before this sanctum, which is ius divinum, whether so called or not. It is for theology of law to ask if what is of ius humanum has been mistaken for ius divinum. This distinction has been underscored as of "great importance" *("magni momenti")* in the *Ecumenical Directory* of the Secretariat [now Council] for Christian Unity: "In the teaching of canon law a careful distinction is to be made between the elements of *ius divinum* from the elements of merely *ius ecclesiasticum*, which are changeable by reason of time, culture or tradition."[1] For example, according to Pope John Paul II, this distinction is to be applied in the question of the papal primacy, "hurdle number one" on the road of ecumenism (Pope Paul VI).

Edmund Schlink agrees that this distinction between ius divinum and ius humanum is of great ecumenical importance.[2] And discussing the question of the primacy of the bishop of Rome, Wilhelm de Vries writes: "It is a matter of distinguishing what is of ius divinum from what is of ius humanum."[3] Other main areas of contemporary ecumenical interest in ius divinum include the "male priesthood" excluding women from presbyteral ordination, a question that has spiralled up as a divisive issue not only within the Anglican Communion but in its relation with the Catholic Church,[4] while women pastors have long been accepted and serve in several Protestant denominations.

The question of ius divinum is important also in the matter of the reform or updating of church order or canon law. Any reform or renewal must respect ius divinum, which is conceived as setting precise limits. This concern has prevented, for example, the restoration of the order of deaconess in the codification of the common law of the Eastern Catholic Churches (CCEO), which authorizes particular law to institute "other ministers" not belonging to the divinely instituted three-grade hierarchy of order, namely, bishops, presbyters and deacons (CCEO cc. 323 § 2; 327). What underlies this concern is the belief that ius divinum sets limits to ius humanum, and that only within the bounds of the latter is the Church free to make any change or reform.

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[1] *Directorium Oecumenicum II: Spiritus Domini* (16.4.1970): "In docendo iure canonico, ubi elementa iuris divini diligenter distinguenda sunt ab elementis iuris tantum ecclesiastici, quae ratione ducta temporis, ingenii cultus vel traditionis, mutationi esse possunt obnoxia."

[2] E. Schlink, "Zur Unterscheidung von ius divinum and ius humanum."

[3] Wilhelm de Vries writes: "Il s'agit de dissocier ce qui est de droit divin de ce qui est de droit humain," *Irén* 46 (1973) p. 509.

[4] "The exclusion of women from priestly ministry cannot be proved to be of ius divinum." So is stated expressing the Anglican view in "Documents: Rome and Canterbury," *Irén* 59 (1986) 352-365, at p. 357.

The idea that ius divinum sets limits to ius humanum hurts against the humanist sprint of modern Man, who claims to be the sovereign of the secular city. He finds the idea irksome that the greater the realm of ius divinum the lesser the free space for ius humanum. Is not this a ruse that restrains Man from the tree of life, the arbitrary dictat of a jealous and capricious god? Modern Man revolts against a God who wants to keep him in the condition of a minor or slave. Echoing such revolt is the following protestation of Girardi:

> God cannot ask man to be less man. Whatever opposes the development of man and of the society cannot be an authentic value, cannot be a religious value, cannot claim divine authority. Any conflict between human rights and divine rights can only be apparent and must be overcome.[5]

Finally, ius divinum becomes an urgent concern when it is made to serve the cause of religious fundamentalism that kills people and spreads terror under the belief of rendering homage to God and being zealous for the strict observance of his law. Saul was such a zealot who dragged Christians to their death till he was knocked down by a flash of divine light (Acts 9:1-9), which led to his conversion and becoming Paul, the Apostle of the gentiles.

2. *Terminology*

Much of the difficulty regarding ius divinum comes from the fact that this term is not univocal in meaning but varies according to culture, epochs and authors. This variation can even become an obstacle to mutual understanding.

2.1. Ius divinum in Roman Law

The Latin term "ius divinum" comes from Roman law, in which it designates the law concerning the gods and their cult or worship. It does not mean law given by the gods. It is one of the sectors of Roman law like agrarian law, commercial law, maritime law, etc. It belongs not only under *ius publicum*, by which the state regulates its relationship with the gods, but also under *ius privatum*. "Publicum ius est quod ad statum rei Romanae spectat... publicum ius in sacris, in sacerdotibus, in magistratibus

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[5] G. Girardi, *Cristianesimo, liberazione umana, lotta di classe*, (Assisi: Cittadella) 1972[2]: "Dio non può chiedere all'uomo di essere meno uomo. Ciò che si oppone allo sviluppo dell'uomo e della società non può dunque essere un valore autentico, non può essere un valore religioso, non può appellarsi all'autorità di Dio. Qualsiasi conflitto tra i diritti dell'uomo e i diritti di Dio non può dunque che essere apparente e deve essere superato" (pp. 27-28).

consistit"[6] The temples (*templa*) and the things offered to the gods (*dona*) are *sacra* and the sepulchres are *res religiosae;* but the walls and the gates of the city are *res sanctae.* Gaius says, *"Sanctae quoque res, veluti muri et portae, quodammodo divini iuris sunt et ideo nullius in bonis sunt."*[7] No one can be the proprietor of the things that pertain to the gods, who are the protectors of the city. And since the walls and the gates of the city have an important role in the divine protection of the city, they are of ius divinum. Thus they belong under ius divinum although they were made by human beings. Unlike the OT law, Roman law is not conceived as a law *revealed or given* by the gods, although there is the Roman myth that Numa wrote the laws of the Romans at the dictation of the goddess Egeira. Rather ius divinum in Roman law is the ensemble of the norms made by Man to regulate his relationship to the gods, including the liturgical laws about sacrifices to placate them. The author of ius divinum is Man in his relationship to the gods. According to the definition of marriage given by the Roman jurist Herennius Modestinus (III c. CE) and amply used also by the Byzantine canonists like Balsamon, in marriage there is a sharing of ius divinum by the partners: "Nuptiae sunt coniunctio maris et feminae et consortium omnis vitae, divini et humani iuris communicatio."[8] In marriage a man and a woman enter into a union for life sharing their lot in divine and human law. In short, the concept of ius divinum in Roman law is radically different from the idea of ius divinum in the Jewish and Christian traditions: according to the former Man is the author of ius divinum, while according to the latter God is the source of ius divinum.

2.2. Ius divinum in the Jewish and Christian traditions

Unlike in the Roman law, both in the Jewish and in the Christian traditions ius divinum comes from God himself. In the Jewish tradition ius divinum refers to the ensemble of the laws given by God. In the Christian tradition the term "ius divinum" has been used in various senses in different periods.[9] These periods may be distinguished into four: patristic period, Middle Ages, modern times, contemporary period.

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[6] *Digesta* 1, 1. The object of ius divinum is *res nullius*. "Nullius autem sunt res sacrae et religiosae et sanctae quod enim divini iuris est, ius divinum nullius in bonis est. Sacra sunt, quae rite et per pontifices deo consecrata sunt, veluti aedes sacrae et dona quae rite ad ministerium dei dicata sunt."

[7] Gaius, *Institutiones*, 2, 1, 8. 11; ibid., 2, 1, 10. 12; *Digesta*, 23, 2, 1.

[8] *Digest* 23.2.1. The phrase "totius vitae consortium" has been taken over and inserted in the definition of marriage in the two codes of the Catholic Church: CIC 1055 § 1; CCEO c. 776 § 1.

[9] U. A. Wolf, *Ius divinum*, p. 47ss.

2.2.1. Patristic Period

In the patristic period the Latin ecclesiastical writers Arnobius (IV s.) and Lactantius († 325) use the term "ius divinum" adopting it from the Roman law but adapting it. And the first recorded use of the term "ius ecclesiasticum" is found in Ambrosiaster, according to Harnack.[10]

2.2.2. The Middle Ages

In the Middle Ages and later ius divinum is used in several senses. It is identified with the whole of sacred scripture by Martin Luther, who wrote: "Sacra scriptura, quae est proprie ius divinum."[11] One of the medieval glossators wrote: "Quae differentia inter divinum et humanum ius? Ius ergo aliud divinum aliud humanum. Ius divinum est quod in lege vel in evangelio. Humanum, hominum constitutio qua aequitas servatur, iniuria propellitur, custoditur innocentia, frenatur violentia et exsulat discordia."[12] This same writer collocates ius divinum "in lege vel in evangelio," but adds somewhat illogically: "auctor iuris homo, auctor iustitiae Deus." If indeed "auctor iuris" were man, logically there could be only *ius humanum* and no ius divinum. However, following the general trend, he collocates ius divinum in the Bible. As regards natural law the same writer places it under *ius humanum*.

> Quid ius naturale? Ius humanum aut est naturale ut quod instinctu naturae apud omnes est, puta maris et feminae coniunctio, liberorum successio, libera eorumque in nullius bonis acquisitio, violentiae per vim continuata et moderata repulsio, depositi seu commodati restitutio.[13]

In more modern times ius naturale has been placed under ius divinum, whereas for this medieval writer "ius humanum est naturale." This shift or confusion is of some importance and is not to be overlooked in a critical study of natural law.

Later Scholastics and manualists regarded scriptural law as ius divinum asserting that whatever is laid down in the NT or received from OT law is obligatory for Christians as divine law. However, Francisco Suárez made a distinction: "those matters which are of apostolic institution are said to be of divine law in some sense, but properly speaking they do not belong

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[10] A. von Harnack, *Die Mission and Ausbreitung des Christentums*, I, (Leipzig) 1923[4], p. 489.

[11] WA 2, 279, 23-24.

[12] G. Fransen and S. Kuttner, eds., *Summa 'Elegantius in iure divino'*, p. 2.

[13] Ibidem.

to the new law as divine (non tamen proprie pertinent ad legem novam ut divina est").[14]

This distinction between ius divinum and ius apostolicum tantum is maintained by several writers in modern times. For example, Giuseppe D'Annibale writes: "Ad ius divinum non pertinent quae ab Apostolis constituta fuerunt, ut puta de bigamis non ordinandis, de servanda die dominica, etc."[15]

2.2.3. Modern Times

In modern times Catholic theologians and canonists generally regard ius divinum as referring to the ius whose author is God and which is revealed either in and through nature (*ius naturale*) or is consigned to and is contained in sacred scripture and tradition constituting a single source of revelation (*ius divinum revelatum*). Some Scholastic writers express this same idea of ius divinum by distinguishing between *lex divina naturalis* and *lex divina positiva.* And ius divinum is understood to form part of Christian dogma, morals and canon law. Juridically then by ius divinum is meant a sector of law which has been determined by God and is immutable. To transgress it would be grievous sin. It is a *ius limitativum.* This idea is exalted in the theology of 'oikonomia,' by some Orthodox writers while some other Orthodox writers minimise it or even reject it. Among Protestants there is a variety of opinions about ius divinum. According to E. Wolf, "Juridically ius divinum means the highest grade of norms and institutions of the Church which bind absolutely, condition and limit all others."[16] Ius divinum is thus conceived as an absolute that limits ius humanum.

The Scholastic theology of ius divinum has been presented synthetically in an article on law in the prestigious *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*.[17] According to it God promulgated the precepts of the natural law on three different occasions.

1. *Primitive Law.* In the beginning, in the earthly Paradise, God determined the conditions of work and rest (ut operaretur ... requievit die septimo); the equality of man and woman (hoc nunc os ex ossibus meis); family obligations (crescite et multiplicamini). After the universal deluge

[14] F. Suarez, *Tractatus de Legibus ac Deo Legislatore*, lib. X, cap. VI, num. 7, (Conimbricae) 1612, p. 1249.1.A.

[15] J. D'Annibale, *Summula Theologiae moralis*, ed. 3. (Rome, s.d.), p. 187, n. 2.

[16] Erik Wolf writes: "*Juristisch* bedeutet ius divinum den obersten Rang kirchenrechtlich unbedingt verpflichtender Normen oder Institutionen, die alle anderen bedingen und begrenzen" ("Ius divinum," col. 1074).

[17] A. Molien, "Loi," *DTC* IX-1, coll. 871-910, § IV: *La loi divine positive*, coll. 887-889.

these laws were renewed to Noah but adding the prohibition "You shall not eat meat with blood" (Gen 9:4). And the law of circumcision was given to Abraham (Gen 17:11).

2. *Mosaic Law*. On Mount Sinai God gave to Moses the Decalogue as well as the moral, liturgical and judiciary precepts, which Israel had to observe in the desert and in the promised land till the coming of the Messiah. The ceremonial and juridical precepts ceased to be obligatory on the day of the Pentecost.

3. *The Gospel Law*. Jesus did not abrogate the moral precepts of the Mosaic law because they form part of natural law. Promulgating them anew, above all in the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus clarified them and insisted on the sins of thought and on fraternal love. This law is binding on all Christians and will endure till the end of times. The Church was instituted to see to their application.

At the Council of Trent, Diego Laínez, S.J., theologian of the pope, argued that in the NT ius divinum is of a universal order and does not descend into particulars as did the OT in the Mosaic law.[18]

> Lex vero Moysis ex divina revelatione et auctoritate hominibus a deo concessa prodit; et ideo divina est, licet non ita imemdiate a Deo prodeat, sicut doctrina decalogi vel doctrina per Christum dominum prolata, vel sicut lex fidei et caritatis, quae per Spiritum sanctum in cordibus fidelium infunditur (p. 28). Canonicae etiam epistolae apostolorum continent quaedam praecepta positiva, quae tamen non asserunt esse proprie iuris divini (p. 35). Ius divinum proprie sumptum et obligans in Novo Testamento non admodum descendit ad particuliaria, nec de accessoriis et mediis tractat, ut saepe fiebat in vetere testamento; sed in universalibus se continet ... quae omnia noluit Dominus per se decernere, sed Ecclesiae relinquere (p. 46).[18]

2.2.4. Contemporary Period

Today it is generally accepted that ius divinum has God for its author or "legislator," but it is also emphasized that ius divinum is an analogous concept and cannot be adequately distinguished from ius humanum. So states the *Malta Report* of the Joint Lutheran-Roman Catholic Study Commission.

> In entrambi i concetti *[ius divinum* and *ius humamum]* la parola *ius* viene usata solo in senso analogo. *Ius divinum* non può mai essere adeguatamente distinto da *ius humanum*. Il *ius divinum* è sempre mediato attraverso particolari forme storiche. Queste forme devono essere comprese non solo come il prodotto di

[18] J. Lainez, *Disputationes Tridentinae*, I (Innsbruck) 1886, p. 46 (Quaestio I.IV, § 32).

> un processo sociologico di crescita, ma a causa della natura pneumatica della Chiesa, possono essere viste anche come frutto dello spirito.[19]

In modern times, curiously, the existence of *ius humanum* was denied by the Russian Orthodox theologian Nicholas Afanasiev.

> The existence of *ius humanum* is unknown to Orthodoxy. At any rate, it was unknown to the ancient Church as well as the Church of ecumenical councils. The existence of *ius humanum* was also unknown to the Byzantine commentators of the XII century... Indeed, *ius humanum* does not exist in the Church.[20]

Writing in 1936 Afanasiev denied *ius humanum*, but surely he would not have done so after the horrors of Hitler's concentration camps and the Second World War, when in 1948 the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was signed by the United Nations.

As regards the Latin term "ius," it is understandably not found in the decrees of the first seven ecumenical councils, which were formulated in Greek. But the conciliar decrees themselves are one form of *ius*. Moreover, the absence of a term does not mean the absence of the corresponding concept. For example, the *term* "Trinity" is not found in the NT; it was used for the first time by Tertullian (ca 160-ca 230). But the *concept* or idea of the Trinity is contained in the NT, which supplies the biblical evidence for the Christian dogma defined by the Council of Nicea (325). Similarly, the concept of *ius divinum* is contained in the idea of divine covenant and divine commandment. It is also implicit in the Lord's Prayer "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven."

3. *Ius divinum in the Codifications*

By studying the use to which a term is put, its meaning becomes clearer. We shall examine briefly the three canonical codifications of the Catholic Church, namely *Codex Iuris Canonici* of 1917 (CIC-17), *Codex Iuris Canonici* of 1983 (CIC-83) and *Codex Canonum Ecclesiarum Orientalium* of 1990 (CCEO). Without attempting an exhaustive study we shall consider a few examples.

3.1.1. Codex Iuris Canonici of 1917

The term "ius divinum" occurs in five canons of CIC-17, according to

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[19] *Malta Report*, Report of the Joint Lutheran-Roman Catholic Study Commission on "The Gospel and the Church" published in *Lutheran World* 19 (1972) 259-273 and in *Worship* 46 (1972) 326-351.

[20] N. Afanasiev, "The Canons of the Church...," p. 56.

the appended Index analitico-alphabeticus: cc. 27, 1038 § 1, 1509 n. 1, 727 § 1, 1060.[21] However, this list is not complete since this term appears also in some other canons like cc. 219 and 1016. Moreover, in some canons synonyms of ius divinum are used like "ius naturae" (1068 § 1) or "lex naturalis," or "ex divina institutione" (c. 108 § 3), or "Christus ad sacramenti dignitatem evexit contractum matrimonialem (c. 1012 § 1) or "ex divina ordinatione" or "ex Christi ordinatione," etc. Hence a more complete study would be needed.

3.1.2. Codex Iuris Canonici (1983)

The use of ius divinum and of its equivalents is more numerous in CIC-83 than in CIC-17. Twelve canons of CIC-83 mention ius divinum expressly: cc. 22, 24 § 1, 98 § 2, 113 § 1, 199 n. 1, 207 § 1, 330, 331, 375, 1075 § 1, 1163 § 2, 1692 § 2. Three canons speak of *ius naturale* (as did also CIC-17): cc. 199 § 1, 1163 § 2, 1165 § 2.

Can. 24 § 1 states: "Nulla consuetudo vim legis obtinere potest, quae sit *iuri divino* contraria." Similarly c. 199, 1 states: "Praescriptioni obnoxia non sunt iura et obligationes quae sunt *legis divinae naturalis aut positivae.*" Can. 1060 affirms that unity and indissolubility of marriage are its properties *iure divino.* It is reserved to the supreme authority of the Church to declare authentically when ius divinum prohibits or invalidates marriage (c. 1075 § 1). According to c. 1163 § 2 the sanation of a marriage that is null on account of an impediment of natural law or divine positive law is possible only after the cessation of that impediment (cf. also c. 1165 § 2). Civil law is "canonized" in certain matters "quatenus *iuri divino* non sint contrariae" (c. 22; cf. 1692 § 2).

The hierarchical structure of the Church is determined by ius divinum: "*ex divina institutione* inter christifideles sunt in Ecclesia ministri sacri, qui in iure et clerici vocantur" (c. 207 § 1). Can. 129 § 1 speaks of "potestas regiminis, quae quidem *ex divina institutione* est in Ecclesia et etiam potestas iurisdictionis vocatur..."

"*Statuente Domino,* Apostoli unum collegium constituunt," and their successors are united among themselves *pari ratione* (c. 330). Regarding bishops it is stated: "Episcopi, qui *ex divina institutione* in Apostolorum locum succedunt per Spiritum sanctum qui datus est eis, in Ecclesia Pastores constituuntur, ut sint et ipsi doctrinae magistri, sacri cultus sacerdotes et gubernationis ministri" (c. 371 § 1).

Regarding the bishop of Rome it is declared: "Ecclesiae Romanae Episcopus, in quo permanet munus *a Domino* singulariter Petro, primo Apos-

[21] P. Huizing has analysed these five canons: "Göttliches Recht and Kirchenverfassung."

tolorum, *concessum,* ... vi muneris sui suprema, plena, immediata et universali in Ecclesia gaudet ordinaria potestate" (c. 331).

"Catholica Ecclesia et Apostolica Sedes moralis personae rationem habent *ex ipsa ordinatione divina*" (c. 113 § 1).

Outside the Church, too, *ius divinum* applies: "Omnes homines veritatem in iis, quae Deum eiusque ecclesiam respiciunt, quaerere tenentur eamque cognitam amplectendi ac servandi obligatione *vi legis divinae* adstringuntur et iure gaudent" (c. 748 § 1). And there are matrimonial impediments of *ius naturale:* cc. 1163 § 2; 1165 § 2; 1084 § 1; 1085.

3.1.3. Codex Canonum Ecclesiarum Orientalium (1990)

The Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches (CCEO) does not differ from CIC-83 in the use of *ius divinum*. This can be ascertained from a few examples.[22] Thus, ius divinum praevalet omni legi, cc. 1504, 1378 § 2; *nulla consuetudo ei derogat*, 1506 § 2. Ius divinum is operative regarding marriage: 780 § 1, 850 § 2, 852. It exempts minors in certain matters from the power of parents, 910 § 2.

CCEO uses expressions that are *equivalent* to *ius divinum*. For example, *Ex divina institutione* clerici a ceteris christifidelibus distinguuntur (323, 2); ministerium ecclesiasticum *divinitus institutum* (324); potestas regiminis, quae *ex divina institutione* est in Ecclesia (979 § 1); *lex divina* congrua poena muniri potest (1405 § 1); leges in quibus de declaratione *legis divinae* agitur (1492); iura et obligationes *legis divinae* praescriptioni obnoxia non sunt (1542 n 1); *ius nativum* Ecclesiae praedicandi evangelium (595 § 1); *ius nativum* Ecclesiae possedendi bona temporalia (1007).

The concept of ius divinum is expressed more or less implicitly or explicitly in the following canons: 7 § 1, 43, 178, 667, 669,732 § 2, 776 § 1, 776 § 2, 792, 902, 936 § 1, 1007.

Finally, natural law is regarded as a species of divine law: *ius naturae* de libera dispositione bonorum (1043 § 1).

These citations show that the common codes of the Catholic Church make ample use of ius divinum. But what is really meant by ius divinum? Does it reflect a renewed understanding of ius divinum? For an answer we have first to make a survey of the recent theological discussion about ius divinum.

4. *Recent Discussion of ius divinum*

A number of studies were devoted to the theology of ius divinum in the

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[22] I. Žužek, *Index analyticus Codicis Canonum Ecclesiarum Orientalium* (Kanonika 2), (Rome: PIO) 1992.

second half of the twentieth century. The more important of these are indicated in the appended bibliography. We shall survey a few of these entries. We start with the Protestant writers.

4.1. Protestants

In the twentieth century *Rechtstheologie* (theology of law) developed in Germany in opposition to the apotheosis of the Nazi state. The opposition exalted *ius divinum* often minimizing the role of *ius humanum*. The result was a bewildering theological pluralism. Erik Wolf recognizes that there is no theological accord on ius divinum among Protestant authors.[23] In fact five different positions may be distinguished:

1) According to some writers ius divinum has no basis in the Bible, which is the source of faith (*Glaube*), not of law (*Recht*).

2) Some others see ius divinum as alien to the genius of the Protestant Reform.

3) For still others ius divinum is a useless and deviant concept.

4) The intellectual heirs of Rudolph Sohm rejected ius divinum, because according to Sohm the concept of ius is a contradiction of the very nature of the Church.

5) Others rejected not the concept itself (at least implicitly) but rather the term ius divinum or the usual separation between ius divinum and ius humanum as unreal and unfounded.

In this bewildering Protestant theology of ius divinum there is a general eclipse of ius humanum following three trends or watchwords: "Extra Christum nullum ius" (Johannes Heckel), "Christocracy" (Erik Wolf), and the identity between ius divinum and ius humanum. According to Hans Dombois with ius divinum the Church continues the institutional activity inaugurated by Christ of the relations with God. Urban A. Wolf ("Gottesrecht und Menschenrecht") sees ius divinum as residing in God but the Church is not invested with it. What regulates the Church is human ecclesiastical law (which reflects the situation in Germany since the Protestant Reform).

In an attempt to distinguish between ius divinum and ius humanum Edward Schlink ("Zur Unterscheidung...") deals with the raison d'être of law (ius) in the Church as protection of communion with Christ. For this scope the church order of the NT, which is not a complete code but only a collection of occasional directives, is only *one* regulation, not *the* regulation. This means that it does not forestall other regulations provided the

[23] E. Wolf, "Ius divinum."

scope is the same. The church order of the Apostles was followed by others like the *Apostolic Constitutions,* which did not always preserve entirely or codify all the apostolic rules. The ius humanum in the Church is the ius of the faithful, a response to ius divinum in faith and obedience. It is not a logical deduction from ius divinum, but a discovery under the guidance of the Spirit, of the Church's situation in the world. According to Schlink, "it seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us" (Acts 15:28) is the model of ius humanum in the Church for all times. Such ius humanum represents the practical exegesis of ius divinum *hic et nunc,* as it was in the apostolic times, inasmuch as already in the NT we find the ius divinum in the form *(Gestalt)* of ius humanum. What is important is not to know the interspace between ius divinum and ius humanum, but the dynamism and the mobility of ius divinum which becomes operative in the obedient Church.

4.2. Orthodox Writers

The Orthodox writers have not shown much interest in ius divinum. The same distrust of ius humanum shown by Protestant writers can be found also in some Orthodox writers like Afanasiev.[24] But some others like N. Milasch uphold the Western classical distinction between ius divinum and ius humanum of the Catholic tradition.

4.3. Catholic Writers

4.3.1. Karl Rahner

In Catholic reflection about ius divinum a new frontier has been crossed by the writings of Karl Rahner on ius divinum. In his article "Über den Begriff..." Rahner declares that he is not attempting to eliminate the "authentic" concept of ius divinum but only attempting to present a "variation" of it in another key. There are three keys of this variation.

1) The distinction between the essence of ius divinum and the historical form in which the ius divinum has been revealed. This distinction is not always easy to discover, avows Rahner, but should never be ignored.

2) In order to establish what is of ius divinum, says Rahner, it is not enough to ascertain: a) that some matter of faith or discipline had its origin from the Apostles, or from Jesus himself; b) that it has been handed down through an uninterrupted tradition, for example, the diaconate, the use of veil by women in the liturgical assembly.

3) It is necessary to show also that the said faith or discipline was understood to have been revealed and imposed as binding by the divine will.

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[24] N. Afanasiev, "The Canons of the Church: Changeable or Unchangeable?"

The Christian revelation, says Rahner, consists in the apostolic proclamation and the irreversible decisions of the primitive Church on some point regarding the essence of the Church. It is crucial to determine the concept of Christian revelation. A voice from heaven, as at the baptism of Jesus or at his transfiguration is not representative of the pattern of Christian revelation. The pattern is Jesus himself, the Word incarnate, God's seed sown on earth to sprout, grow, and produce fruit. Ius divinum does not drop from the sky, but is born from human elements or historical factors that are divinely ordained. Hence the following key sentence of Rahner: "Auch das göttliche Recht der Kirche ist ein gottesmenschliches Recht" (p. 272): "the ius divinum of the Church is also a divine-human ius." Such ius divinum has also a history, it is subject to evolution and progress.

In his article in LThK, ("Recht. Göttliches Recht"), Rahner makes a further point that ius humanum in the Church is to be regarded as a participation in ius divinum ("eine Partizipation des göttlichen Rechtes"), provided it is not a pure convention or nothing but illegitimate power. "And conversely, ius divinum always presents itself in historical concreteness, which is conditioned by historically variable circumstances, to which belong also the consequences of free human decisions (also of those in authority)."[25] The revealing will of God is accomplished through the free decisions of humans. Can ius divinum so conceived emerge also after the apostolic age? Rahner raises this question and states that he would refrain from giving a negative answer.

4.3.2. Riedlinger

Drawing on Rahner's concept of *"divine-human ius,"* H. Riedlinger ("Anmerkungen...") dwells on the *analogy* with the mystery of Christ and the resulting humanisation of ius divinum and the divinisation of ius humanum. He asks: how can we know which free decisions of legitimate Church authority are truly participations in ius divinum? This is an important question regarding the discernment of ius divinum. Only the insertion of the *divine will* known as such can render human decisions *de iure* irreversible and binding for all times. This should be true also with regard to the decisions of the primitive Church (*Urkirche*).

4.3.3. H. J. Urban

H. J. Urban ("Göttliches and menschliches...") also builds on Rahner's

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[25] "Und umgekehrt: das göttliche Recht erscheint immer in geschichtlicher Konkretheit, die bedingt ist durch geschichtlich variable Umstände, zu denen auch die Folgen der freien menschlichen Entscheidungen (auch autoritativer Art) gehören."

analogy between ius divinum and the incarnate Word. Urban concludes that in the Church there cannot exist pure ius humanum, and that the binding character of ius humanum (ius ecclesiasticum) derives from the mission the Church received from Christ. "This shows that also canon law participates in the mystery of Christ and his Church."

4.3.4. Carl Peter

Carl Peter sets out to ascertain ("Dimensions") what the Council of Trent meant by ius divinum. Not surprisingly, the Tridentine concept of ius divinum bears the marks of the underdevelopment of biblical studies of the period. The definitions of the Council of Trent in this matter do not constitute solemn conciliar magisterium; hence they are not to be regarded as infallible. However, there is as yet no exhaustive research covering the whole range of ecumenical councils which can enable us to draw conclusions that are theologically definitive about the idea of ius divinum in the conciliar tradition of the Church.

4.3.5. Avery Dulles

Avery Dulles in his article "Ius divinum as an Ecumenical Problem" starts with a short survey of the recent studies on ius divinum and then analyses the whole problem with remarkable clarity. He makes a synthetic and graphic schema of four circles placing ius divinum in the inner three concentric circles and ius humanum in the fourth and outermost circle. Thus he underscores the analogical concept of ius divinum and a *hierarchia iuris,* which is comparable to the "hierarchia veritatum." Ius is of four grades in relation to the Church: 1) "ad esse Ecclesiae" (for the very being of the Church); 2) "ad bene esse Ecclesiae" (for the welfare of the Church); 3) "ad plene esse Ecclesiae" (for the fullness of the Church); and 4) "adiaphora" (indifferent). This last grade denotes what is indifferent in the sense that it will not make any difference to the good of the Church one way or the other; it belongs under *ius humanum*.

These four grades of ius are in descending order of importance with reference to their source: 1) Jesus Christ; 2) Apostolic or postapostolic Church; 3) Circumstances of times and of places; 4) Exigency of order according to human reason. Under the first grade are to be placed the ministry of the word, baptism, Eucharist, and reconciliation, which are of ius divinum. Under the second grade are to be placed those institutions whose origin is from the Apostles or post-Apostolic Church, such as confirmation [chrismation], marriage, anointing of the sick, episcopacy, primacy of universal jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome. Under the third grade comes the exclusively male ministry. As regards their *value* these three grades are:

(1) "ad plene esse Ecclesiae"; (2) "ad bene esse Ecclesiae"; (3 and 4) "adiaphora" (accidental, indifferent, provisional), exigency of order according to convenience as suggested by human reason, for example, precedence of clerics in seating or in a procession. Only the institutions of the first grade are of ius divinum and are irreversible.

4.3.6. Yves Congar

Following his usual historical approach, Yves Congar in his article "Ius divinum" surveys successive centuries starting with Saint Augustine. He considers Gratian, St. Thomas Aquinas, and the medieval canonists. Then he deals with the Protestant Reformers and the Council of Trent. Finally he surveys the modern period and summarises a few authors. Finally he gives his own theological synthesis.

Finally, mention is to be made of the impressive volume edited by Ignacio Juan Arrieta, the fruit of an international congress on ius divinum,[26] which cannot be summarised here. The history of ius divinum shows the pluralism that characterises its evolution.

5. *Theological Reflections*

That revelation is not simple grace without law resonates in the proclamation God the Father makes at the baptism of Jesus "This is my Son, the Beloved, with him I am well pleased; listen to him" (Mt 3:17) and at the transfiguration of Jesus "This is my Son, the Beloved, listen to him" (Mk 8:7; cp Lk 9:35; 2 Pt 1:17). This latter theophany confirms the heavenly acreditation of Jesus as the Son of God at his baptism (Mc 1:11; Lk 3:22; Mt 3:17) with the divine injunction, "Listen to him." This is ius divinum. The gospel is not sheer grace devoid of law.

We shall now address a few related questions: 1) Is ius divinum immutable or mutable? 2) the role of ius divinum in the foundation of the Church; 3) ecclesial fidelity with respect to ius divinum; 4) ius divinum and offices in the Church; 5) ius divinum, pluralism, and canonical reform.

5.1. Is ius divinum immutable or mutable?

It is commonly held that *ius divinum* is immutable whereas *ius humanum* is mutable.[27] Laws made by Man are changeable, but not the laws of God, we are told. "From the ontological immutability of God we can deduce the immutability of ius divinum," writes Remigiusz Sobanski.[28] But

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[26] I. J. Arrieta (ed.), *Ius divinum*.

[27] For a recent example, J. Fornés, "La doctrina canónica del siglo XX sobre el ius divinum," in J. I. Arrieta (ed.), *Ius divinum*, pp. 285-320, at 286, 319.

[28] R. Sobanski, "Immutabilità e storicità del diritto della Chiesa: Diritto divino e diritto

biblical evidence does not bear out the above conclusion. For example, circumcision, a divine law of the Old Testament, was declared by the Jerusalem Council as no more binding (Acts 15:28).

Philosophically, from the premise that God is immutable it does not follow that ius divinum is immutable. An immutable God can surely give mutable laws to the mutable humans. For example, regulations or directives given to children cease to apply, and are indeed meant to cease to apply, when they become adults. Even without an express revoke they cease to be binding. Similarly the ius divinum given to humanity in its infancy may cease to apply to adult humanity. Here is a parable to illustrate the point.

> A man on his deathbed called his eldest son Peter and told him to take care of his baby daughter Lucy. "On the way to school and back be careful of the traffic: Hold her by the hand." Peter said, "Yes, papa." And he obeyed showing great sense of duty. Lucy grew up and is now in her teens. But Peter insists on holding her by the hand on the way to college. She resents Peter's protective hand as unnecessary and irksome. When she wants to go with her fiancé, Peter's presence becomes intolerable. "But father told me to hold you by the hand on the way!"

All the laws of the Old Testament were regarded as laws of God (ius divinum), including the various codes of the Pentateuch that were gradually added to the original Decalogue in different epochs. Additions like those done by Joshua at the renewal of the covenant at Sichem became part of the covenant law: "Joshua wrote these things in the book of the law of God" (Jos 24:26). Under Josiah, king of Juda (641-609 BC.), the "Book of the Law" was discovered in the temple (2 Kgs 22:8) and the whole Pentateuch was accepted as the Thorah, hence as ius divinum.[29] The ius divinum in the Thorah is not something let down from heaven. It has a birth, growth, and death, as shown in the following four cases.

5.1.1. Circumcision

In antiquity, circumcision was practised by various peoples as a ritual offering to the divinities of fertility. After the Babylonian exile this customary law became a law of ius divinum for the people of Israel when it was interpreted as a sign of the covenant with God.[30] Later on, the law of

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umano": "Dall'ontologica immutabilità di Dio si arriva all'immutabilità del diritto divino" (p. 472).

[29] H. Cazelles, "De la coutume au droit de Jésus Christ à travers la Bible": "It is from a divine notice given to the priests of Jerusalem, where the tables of the Law were kept, that the entire legislative dispositions contained in the Pentateuch were considered as the revealed Torah" (p. 61).

[30] L. A. Hoffman, 'Circumcision," in J. Neusner – A. J. Avery-Peck – W. S. Green (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of Judaism*, (Leiden – Boston – Köln) 2000, pp. 89-95.

circumcision underwent a crisis in the NT losing its obligatory character for Christians. The change takes place primarily not in the law itself but in those who die in and with Christ and are reborn in and with the risen Christ, but the effect is the same as if the law had changed. Thus the Mosaic law of circumcision does not oblige those who are in Christ. A Jewish proselyte comes under the regime of the Thorah and is subject to the Mosaic law of circumcision; but if he moves further accepting the Christian gospel and is baptized, he is no more bound by the law of circumcision. In the hypothesis of all Jews accepting Jesus as the promised Messiah and becoming Christians, the law of circumcision would come to an end. Thus a law of ius divinum would cease to exist. This would be a case of the mutability of ius divinum.

5.1.2. Marriage and Divorce

According to the original ideal (Gen 2:24) marriage is indissoluble. But later the law of Moses (= ius divinum) admitted divorce or rather *ripudium*, taking into account human weakness or sinfulness (Dt 24:1) according to the exegesis given by Jesus Christ of the OT law of divorce (Mk 10:5; Mt 19:8). Jesus, the new Moses and lawgiver of the new covenant, re-proposes and re-establishes the original ideal as the norm in the kingdom of God (Mt 19:12; 1 Cor 7:10). This implies the mutability of ius divinum.

5.1.3. The Sabbath

Probably of pre-Mosaic origin, the law of the Sabbath rest was assumed into the Decalogue and thus became ius divinum. This was part of a process of the institutionalisation of the weekly rest and of cult as an exigency of the covenant relationship with God. However, under the new covenant in the "blood" (death and resurrection) of Jesus Christ, the Sabbath undergoes a mutation and cedes to the first day of the week (Jn 20:1, Ac 20:7), Sunday, the day of the resurrection of Christ, "the day of the Lord" (*dies dominica*).[31] Decisive for this transition was the historical factor of the separation between the synagogue and the Church or the two communities of the Jews and the Christians.

5.1.4. Prohibition of images

The second commandment of the Decalogue forbids idol worship: "You shall not make for yourself an idol ... nor worship it"(Ex 20:4, 5). The original and basic purpose of forbidding the making and veneration of images

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[31] W. Rordorf, *Der Sonntag*; P. Massi, *La domenica nella storia della salvezza*; N. Negretti, *Il settimo giorno*.

in Israel was to prevent idolatry. However, this law was understood and practised variously in various epochs by the people of Israel.[32] Christians adopted an iconic posture but also at times an anti-iconic one even going to the extreme of iconoclasm. The veneration of images has been defended and promoted by the Fathers of the Church but above all by the seventh ecumenical council of Nicea II (787).[33] And the second commandment of the Decalogue was dropped by the Church magisterium in catechesis, which signalls change of ius divinum. Canon law enjoins: "The practice of exhibiting icons or images in the churches for the veneration of the Christian faithful is to remain in force...." (CCEO c. 886; CIC c. 1188). Protestant churches generally exhibit no icons or images and thus differ from the Catholic and the Orthodox churches, the latter often abounding in icons. In short, the pendulum has swung from one extreme to the opposite, from simple *No* to solemn *Yes*. Such is the history of ius divinum regarding the second commandment about images.

To conclude. It is idle and pointless to assert the immutability of ius divinum. This does not mean, however, that all ius divinum is mutable. We have to discern what is mutable and what is immutable in ius divinum under the guidance of the magisterium of the Church.[34] The only ius divinum that is absolutely immutable is the Logos-Nomos, incarnate and living in the Church. The Church of Christ, however, subsists in various particular Churches taking flesh in various places and cultures, all conforming in various grades to the Logos-Nomos (cf. the seven Churches of the last book of the NT, the Apocalypse / Revelation) and making up the one Body of the glorified Christ animated by his Spirit.

5.2. Foundation of the Church and ius divinum

The idea of ius divinum is contained in expressions like the foundation or institution of the Church. But the foundation of the Church by Jesus differs from the model of the foundation of religious orders like the foundation of the Order of St. Benedict by St. Benedict or the Society of Jesus by St. Ignatius Loyola. It would be too simplistic to think of Jesus as founding the Church with a definite juridical structure and institutions like the episcopacy, primacy and seven sacraments (for Catholics and Orthodox) or two (for Protestants). The Second Vatican Council teaches:

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[32] C. Konikoff writes: "The Second Commandment conveyed varying meanings to the Jews at different times of their history and this not only to those inclined to compromise and assimilation, but also to those who adhered with loyalty to their spiritual heritage" (*The Second Commandment and its Interpretation in the Art of Ancient Israel*, p. 88).

[33] The Council of Nicea II, action VI 1, Definition about sacred images.

[34] H. Pree, "Zur Wandelbarkeit und Unwandelbarkeit des *ius divinum*."

> The Church had been foreshadowed right from the beginning of the world, wonderfully prepared in the history of the people of Israel and in the ancient covenant, established in these last times, and made manifest through the outpouring of the Holy Spirit (LG 2).

The Church was established (*constituta*) by Jesus who called together a group of disciples, formed them and gave them a mission to preach the gospel and to gather together those who accepted the gospel in faith into a communion or brotherhood. This communion involved baptism, the eucharist and ordained ministry. There was, however, ecclesial pluralism within a basic unity. Consequently the primitive Church does not exhibit *the* expression or unique *avatar* of ius divinum, but one expression, privileged indeed and eminently in conformity with ius divinum. There can be a different expression or *avatar* of the same ius divinum in a different place and a different time. In other words, we cannot say that the primitive Church exhibited the perfect model or the *unique* incarnation of ius divinum but its *first* avatar.[35]

5.3. Ius divinum and Ecclesial Fidelity

Ius divinum needs to be studied not only from the perspective of law as ius *limitativum*, (law limiting human freedom), but also from the standpoint of the covenant, hence as proof of fidelity and love. The Church expresses her fidelity and love to Christ by her respect for ius divinum. But this fidelity is neither static nor monolithic but dynamic and pluralistic corresponding to these traits of ius divinum.

The origin determines and specifies the successive evolution. A living organism maintains its identity through growth and change. Genuine growth and real progress require continuity and fidelity to the spirit but not to the letter. For example, the Apostolic College of the Twelve, which is of divine institution, has been faithfully preserved in the Church, but not by perpetuating an "ecclesiastical senate" of twelve. After the desertion of Judas the symbolic number twelve was restored with the election of Matthias as a "witness to the resurrection" of Jesus (Acts 1:22), no such election or addition was made after the Apostle James was put to the sword by Herod (Acts 12:2). The symbolic number twelve had already achieved its purpose and therefore could be set aside.

All sacred Scripture is the word of God, but not all sacred Scripture is ius divinum. Not all that Jesus said or did constitutes ius divinum. For example, Jesus washed the feet of his Apostles and said, "If then I, your lord

[35] C. F. D. Moule, *Worship in the New Testament*; P. Bonnard, "Normativité du Nouveau Testament et exemplarité de l'Église primitive."

and teacher, have washed your feet, you also ought to wash one another's feet. For I have given you an example, that you also should do as I have done to you" (Jn 13:14-15). In response to this command of Jesus, some Churches in the early centuries celebrated the rite of the washing of the feet just as they celebrated the Eucharist in response to Jesus' command, "Do this in memory of me" (Lk 22:19). Whereas this command was understood literally, the washing of the feet was regarded as symbolic of humble service. As regards the frequency of the Eucharist it was disputed whether it was to be celebrated only annually like the Jewish Pasch, or on every Sunday, the Lord's day (*dies dominica*). The daily celebration is a medieval development. Evidently, ius divinum cannot be established on the basis of scripture alone *(sola scriptura)* without reference to the life of the Church or tradition.

For certain sacraments like marriage and the anointing of the sick, scripture provides no words of institution by Jesus Christ. And yet in the Catholic-Orthodox traditions these are regarded as sacraments instituted by Jesus Christ and of ius divinum. In suppressing the obligation of the law of circumcision for Christians the Apostolic Church invoked the authority of the Holy Spirit: *"Visum est Spiritui Sancto et nobis:* It has seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us" (Acts 15:28). If a similar decision is made by the post-Apostolic Church, will it constitute ius divinum, even if of a lower rank in the hierarchy of ius divinum? The dogmatic definitions and decrees of the ecumenical councils are to be seen under this light.

5.4. Ius divinum and offices in the Church

Many offices have been instituted in the Church for clerics and for laypeople, for men and women. Not all of them were or are of ius divinum. New offices may be created for men and women without prejudice to ius divinum.

A disputed question concerns the patriarchal office in the Church: is it of ius divinum or of *ius ecclesiasticum*? Historically, the patriarchal office was instituted in the fourth century in the particular situation obtaining in the Church of the Roman Empire. What is of fourth-century origin, it is argued, cannot be of ius divinum unlike the episcopate and the papacy, which succeeded the college of the Apostles and are of ius divinum.

This way of thinking needs to be examined critically.[36] It would be too simplistic to affirm that Jesus Christ conferred on the Apostles powers which are invested today only in the bishops and the pope (*episcopatus et*

[36] G. Nedungatt, "Patriarchal Ministry in the Church of the Third Millennium," *Jurist* 61 (2001) 1-80.

primatus). This view evolved in the Western Church (or Western Patriarchate) especially after the schism between the East and the West. But there is a different way of looking at the matter from the Eastern perspective. Outstanding Eastern theologians of the first millennium, like Maximus the Confessor, Theodore of Studium, St. Nicephorus I and Tarasius (the last two being patriarchs of Constantinople) regarded the patriarchs as possessing or sharing in the powers given by Christ to the Apostles. Hence the patriarchal ministry and powers are of ius divinum, although the patriarchal Churches emerged only gradually in the fourth century, in the fullness of time. Here a clear distinction is to be made between two elements: first, the *power* conferred by Jesus Christ; and second, the formation in the course of time of a community of the faithful having a certain size and consistency. As regards power, it can be said that the Apostle Paul exercised "patriarchal" powers, while Timothy and Titus exercised the equivalent of metropolitan powers, since they had under them hierarchs who were the equivalent of today's diocesan or eparchial bishops. According to the theory of the pentarchy, which was held also in the Western Church, the five patriarchs (of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem) represented the college of the Apostles. The number twelve was regarded as having no practical relevance any more since there were more than twelve bishops. By the fourth century Church structures evolved, and the above mentioned five Sees emerged in the Roman empire and a sixth one in Seleucia-Ctesiphon, east of the Roman empire. These sees exercised supra-metropolitan powers, that is, patriarchal powers. Since such growth is of the very nature of the Church, the corresponding ministry and pariarchal authority may be said to be also of ius divinum.

An analogous case is that of the religious or consecrated life. Pope Pius XII stated that it is of ecclesiastical institution.[37] Pope John Paul II, however, differed from his august predecessor but without naming him, and affirmed the divine institution of the consecrated life. "Someone did not fail to call into doubt the divine institution of the consecrated life, considering the consecrated life as a purely human institution, born of the initiative of Christians wishing to live more deeply the gospel ideal."[38] And in his apostolic exhortation *Vita consecrata* Pope John Paul II returned to the same question and affirmed that Jesus founded the consecrated life as

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[37] Pius XII, apostolic constitution *Provida mater* (2 Feb. 1947), see AAS 39 (1947) 120ff. Also his allocution *Annus sacer* (Dec. 1950), see AAS 43 (1951) 27 ff.

[38] John Paul II, Wednesday catechesis of 12 Oct. 1994, see *Quaderni de "L'Osservatore Romano"* 2 (Vatican City) 1995: "Non è mancato chi ha messo in dubbio l'istituzione divina della vita consacrata, considerando la vita consacrata come un'istituzione puramente umana, nata dall'iniziativa di cristiani che desideravano vivere più a fondo l'ideale del vangelo" (p. 28).

a state of life but left to the Church the task of giving expression to it in organized form, which is of ecclesiastical origin (n. 29). Consecrated life is one of the three "fundamental states of life in which, according to the plan of the Lord Jesus, the life of the Church consists" (n. 43). Hence, concludes Pope John Paul II, while in its organized form as one of the three fundamental states of life in the Church consecrated life is of *ius ecclesiasticum,* it is essentially of ius divinum since it proceeds from the will of Christ.[39]

The same distinction can be made with regard to the patriarchal institution in the Church: in its organized form it is indeed of *ius ecclesiasticum,* but as belonging to the design of the Lord Jesus for the Church it is of *ius divinum*. The patriarchate is not like the cardinalate, which is of ius ecclesiasticum, although some have fancied that it is of ius divinum.[40] Regarding the patriarchate Karl Rahner affirms, contrary to a widespread view: "The proper and theologically constitutional essence of the patriarchate belongs under ius divinum."[41]

5.5. Ius divinum, Pluralism, and Canonical Reform

The sacraments are of ius divinum as instituted by Jesus Christ. But regarding their number there is a certain pluralism. This may be illustrated with reference to the sacrament of chrismation or confirmation. To quote an authority:

> In the East, the ritual of chrismation was never separated from that of baptism: it follows the latter without any discontinuity. In the Latin West, too, there was no separation originally; it occurred only after a long time. It did not occur before the third quarter of the fifth century. It started with the letter of Pope Innocent I to Vincentius of Gubbio and imposed itself progressively. Later on, and thanks to this dissociation of rites chrismation was recognized as a sacrament distinct from baptism.[42]

Baptism and chrismation may be regarded as two sacraments, one completing the other. Or they may be regarded as one sacrament when conferred together as two rites one following the other. It is meaningful, however, that while for the Christian initiation of adults these rites are conferred one after the other, the initiation of children into Christian life

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[39] A. Boni, "La vita consacrata nel suo essere della Chiesa e *non* nella Chiesa," *Antonianum* 73 (1998) 671-694.

[40] G. Alberigo, "Le origini della dottrina sull'ius divinum del cardinalato (1053-1087)."

[41] K. Rahner, "Über den Episkopat," *Schriften zur Theologie,* VI (Einsiedeln) 1972: "Das eigentlich verfassungstheologische Wesen des Patriarchats gehört zum ius divinum" (pp. 416-417); *Theological Investigations*, VI, p. 355.

[42] L. Ligier, *La confirmation* (Théologie historique 23), (Paris) 1979, pp. 237-238.

is done gradually with baptism conferred soon after birth and chrismation/ confirmation conferred on adolescents. This procedure respects the principle that the sacraments (like the Sabbath) are for Man. Human initiation into the community takes place gradually. It is proper that Christian initiation also be gradual.

There is a certain pluralism in the use and understanding of the sacrament of chrismation (so called in the East: cf. CCEO) or confirmation (so called in the West: cf. CIC), through which the grace of the Holy Spirit is communicated. This pluralism raises the further question about the theological notion of sacrament itself.[43] As long as the same grace of the Holy Spirit is communicated, it is not important whether this scrament is conferred by the imposition of hands or by the anointing with chrism. Chrismation may be administered immediately following the rite of baptism (by way of a single sacramental rite of initiation) or separately on those who have reached the age of reason, as in the Church of the West. The practice has affected the theory about the number of sacraments.

In the administration of the sacraments the Church has the power of discretion to make such adaptations with due regard for the substance of the sacraments (*salva illorum substantia*), as the Council of Trent declares:

> The Council declares that the Church had always this power by which in the administration of the sacraments, with due regard for their substance, she could determine or change those elements which she judged more suitable for the benefit of those who received them or for the respect due to the sacraments themselves, taking into account the different circumstances, places and times.[44]

This immutable "substance" of the sacraments consists, according to Pope Pius XII, "in those elements, which according to the evidence of the sources of divine revelation, Christ the Lord himself determined to be preserved in the sacramental sign."[45] This sign *(signum)* itself may vary as regards the gestures and the rites (as in the sacraments of chrismation and ordination), but the meaning *(significatum)* is not to change. The same may be said to hold good also with regard to the ministries, in analogy with sacraments, "salva ministerii substantia." On this condition, the Church can determine or change the ministries, for the common good or for the good

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[43] K. Rahner, "Was ist ein Sakrament?," *Schriften zur Theologie*, X, (Einsiedeln) 1972, pp. 377-391.

[44] Council of Trent, session 21, *de communione*, chapter 2: "ut in sacramentorum dispensatione, *salva illorum substantia*, ea statueret vel mutaret, quae suscipientium utilitati seu ipsorum sacramentorum venerationi, pro rerum, temporum et locorum varietate magis expedire iudicaret" (DenzH 1728).

[45] Const. Ap. *Sacramentum Ordinis*, 30 nov. 1947: "in ea quae, testibus divinae scritturae fontibus, ipse Christus Dominus in signo sacramentali servanda statuit" (DenzH 3857).

of the faithful, taking into account the change of circumstances, places and times. This can apply, in view of the service of the Church as the sacrament of salvation (LG 1), to ministries whether diaconal, presbyteral, episcopal, patriarchal or papal. In this sense, the exercise of the papal authority is subject to change. Whether the ordained ministry is reserved to the male sex, which is the official position of the Catholic and the Orthodox Churches, is a question that is a topic discussed by theologians.

In this context it is to be remembered that not every modality adopted by Jesus Christ constitutes ius divinum. Thus, for example, the number twelve of the "college" of Apostles, which conveyed symbolic meaning with reference to the twelve patriarchs and the twelve tribes of Israel, was not subsequently regarded by the Church as having a permanent, immutable or universal symbolic function. As regards deacons, although some local Churches legislated that they were to be seven in number by citing Acts 6:3-5, neither more nor fewer, this number seven was not regarded by most Churches as binding. Thus what was once regarded as binding by ius divinum by some Churches was abandoned by the universal Church later on. These examples show (1) that not all that Jesus or the Apostles did constitutes ius divinum; (2) that not all that was regarded as ius divinum was immutable. However, in the Catholic perspective, it is not a matter of individual judgment to determine what does or what does not constitute ius divinum, or whether a particular ius divinum is subject to change by the Church: this is for the Church to discern guided by the Holy Spirit.

In sum, the declaration of the Council of Jerusalem *"visum est Spiritui Sancto et nobis"* (Acts 15:28) constitutes the authentic methodology of the reform of the Church and of its law. For such reform not merely knowledge *(scientia)* is needed but wisdom *(sapientia)*, which is a "fruit" of the Holy Spirit and is obtained through spiritual discernment. A reform geared to the renewal of the Church and meant to meet the exigencies and challenges of the times will not be contrary to ius divinum. It is the founding will of Jesus Christ that his Church should have the "note" *(nota)* of catholicity, and therefore be incarnate and present as the universal sacrament of salvation in every place and for all times, in all the cultures and centuries, hence always updated *(aggiornata)*, never outdated *(antiquata)*. From this perspective there is no opposition between fidelity and renewal: true fidelity can be realized only through constant renewal attentive to the signs of the times. And, conversely, what stands in opposition to such renewal cannot be of ius divinum.

Conclusion

Recent interest in the theology of ius divinum was catalyzed by the pro-

gress of biblical studies, which can have repercussions not only on canon law but also on dogma. It cannot fail to affect ecumenism and the dialogue with contemporary culture and other religions.

The idea of ius divinum as *ius limitativum,* in the sense of setting limits to *ius humanum* even to the point of being an obstacle to human development, needs to be set aside. This idea of ius *limitativum* plays into the hands of modern humanism, which sees in the prohibition of access to the tree of life the archetype of the conflict between ius divinum and ius humanum. But this conflict arises from a basic misunderstanding, which needs to be clarified in dialogue with modern humanism or the so-called "man of today." Two basic principles are to be made clear in this dialogue. First, God does not forbid what is not bad for Man from the divine point of view; second, all that is truly good for Man, all that contributes to his development and perfection is positively willed by God. Of this divine "philanthropy" (in the sense of the Greek Fathers) we know some manifestations or *avatar* in the economy of salvation. In theology of law they are called ius divinum.

SCHOLION: IUS DIVINUM IN ISLAM

The idea of ius divinum is very prominent in Islam as it is in Judaism and Christianity, the other two monotheistic world religions. In a joint Christian-Muslim statement of 1985 it is asserted: "God has revealed to mankind the essential law by which individual behaviour and the conduct of society should be governed."[46] Muslims believe that the Qur'an is a body of teaching and ordinances divinely "dictated" word for word. The Muslim sacred Law, the shari'a, is derived from the Qur'an and the input of Tradition. For Muslims it constitutes ius divinum, the unconditionally binding legal prescriptions; for example, the position of women or the punishment for offences against the prescriptions of the shari'a. Broadly, there are two theological currents in present day Islam, the fundamentalist or conservative school and the liberal or rational school.

1. The Fundamentalist School

The fundamentalists like the IS (Islamic State) are prominent today and

[46] Independent Commission on Christian-Muslim Relations (Amman, Jordan, 1 October 1985) cited by Kenneth J. Thomas, "The Place of the Bible in Muslim-Christian Relations," in: David Emmanuel Singh and Robert Edwin Schink, eds., *Approaches, Foundations, Issues and Models of Interfaith Relations* (New Delhi: ISPCK) 2001, pp. 337-346.

have often made headlines in the media with acts of terrorism, which they justify invoking ius divinum. Bin Laden, for example, was a martyr for his followers though for the rest of the world he was a terrorist. According to Seyyed Ruhollah Khoimeiny, a spokesman of the fundamentalists, "The Islamic government is that of the divine law over the people. In this government, sovereignty belongs only to God. Officially it belongs to those who have the perfect knowledge of the law. Obedience to the imam means obeying God himself."[47] The Islamic state is theocracy. Shari'a is regarded as immutable divine law contained in the Qura'n and the Sunnah (tradition). This latter embraces all aspects of life.

2. The Liberal School

A minority of Muslim intellectuals belong to the liberal or rational school and want the revision and updating of the shari'a. One of them, Asif Jalal writes: "The Shariah did not descend readymade from the sky. It evolved gradually over a period of time. What we have today in the form of Shariah is a combination of revelation and years of human thought and reasoning."[48] The human thought or reasoning is subject to revision and progress.

At first the Prophet Muhammad himself gave prophetic or revealed solutions to problems, but as Islam expanded rapidly and extensively, he "directed his followers to apply individual judgment or *ijtihad*, which literally means *to exert* one's judgment to find a solution, keeping in view the spirit of the Qur'an and the Sunnah." These were later supplemented by analogy and popular consensus. In the spirit of these "four pillars of Islamic jurisprudence," namely the Qur'an, the Sunnah, analogy and popular consensus, ijtihad or reason operated as a liberating and progressive force. "From the eighth to the eleventh century the world of Islam witnessed the rise of more than 100 schools of law, of which four became widely accepted. Thus, the Shariah is as much a result of human endeavour as that of divine inspiration." After the fall of Baghdad in the thirteenth century, Islam recoiled on itself and closed the door to ijtihad.

In modern times Islam faces new problems as it did at the time of its rapid expansion during the lifetime of the Prophet. Muhammad authorized the use of ijtihad, but today the Mullahs do not want to know of ijtihad. "Because of the taboo on ijtihad, what we have is a complete caricature of Islam" as synonym of religious "inflexibility and intransigence.... Islamic

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[47] Seyyed Ruhollah Khoimeiny, *Pour un gouvernement islamique,* (Paris: Fayolle) 1979.

[48] Asif Jalal "Islamic Law Must Evolve," *Times of India,* 21 July 2005, p. 12. The writer was an officer of the Government of India.

law must evolve if it has to survive. Indian Muslims must heed the advice of the poet-philosopher Iqbal, who had urged Muslims to reinterpret foundation, legal principles in the light of their own experience and altered conditions of modern life."

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Summary

The idea of ius divinum is common to all theistic religions. In Judaism, the only lawgiver is God, while Moses is the mediator between God and brings God's word to the people of Israel. In Christianity, Jesus is the incarnate Word of God. And holy scripture as the word of God contains ius divinum. The Church is the guardian of ius divinum. The laws of the Church apply ius divinum, the theological understanding of which however is varied. Ius divinum does not drop from heaven but is revealed through the history of salvation and has its own history. The idea of ius divinum as merely inhibitive forbidding access to the tree of life is a misconception. The theology of ius divinum is important for the progress of ecumenical relations as well as for the reform of canon law.

Vincenzo Ruggieri, S.J.

Il pozzo e la cisterna: l'acqua nella vita quotidiana e nell'eucologio bizantino

Il cultore della civiltà bizantina non ha certamente bisogno d'esser introdotto a quello che è l'eucologio (Εὐχολόγιον), e, qualora ve ne fosse bisogno, l'ausilio di un dizionario, quale l'*Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, supplirebbe sommariamente alla richiesta[1]. Si sa, tuttavia, che Anastasio Sinaita, attorno all'anno 700, conosceva bene questo libro di preghiere chiamandolo per nome, allorquando si trattava di rispondere ad una questione postagli: "c'è una preghiera per un caso simile nell'Eucologio, detta dal prete"[2]. Scendendo di un paio di secoli circa, attorno all'anno 500, un altro monaco, buon conoscitore del mondo palestinese ma residente in Licia, parlo di Nicola, zio del più conosciuto S. Nicola di Sion, possedeva ed usava "un libro avente la divina liturgia ed altre preghiere"[3]. Questo libro, passi la parola, era lo strumento ordinario per la diaconia sacerdotale in una chiesa, ed esso originariamente aveva nella sua redazione scritta connotati legati al territorio e alle costumanze liturgiche locali. Molti anni addietro osai dire che "a Euchology is, in essence, a message of old, local and cultural situations and customs"[4]; i testi su citati ne danno dimostrazione e di recente con un senso di più largo orizzonte si comincia a parlare fra i liturgisti di "the study of the realia" o dell'"everyday life"[5]. Costoro

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[1] R. F. Taft, "Euchologion", *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* 2, 1991, 738. Per una più attinente comprensione dell'eucologio costantinopolitano, si veda: S. Parenti, "Towards a Regional History of the Byzantine Euchology of the Sacraments", *Ecclesia Orans* 27 (2010), 109-121. I molti costumi (πολλὰ ἔθη) presenti nelle chiese erano stati già intravisti da Sozomeno (*Hist. Eccl.* VII, 19, 12) che scriveva da Costantinopoli, ma spesso obliati dallo storico della liturgia.

[2] Anastasii Sinaitae, *Quaestiones et Responsiones*, ed. M. Richard (†) et J. A. Munitiz, CCSG 59, Turnhout – Leuven 2006, *Quaest.* 103[7].

[3] *La Vita di San Nicola di Sion*, ed. V. Ruggieri, Roma 2013, c. 6, 34. In questa *Vita* ho rinvenuto la primitiva preghiera di vestizione monastica, probabilmente di origine palestinese: V. Ruggieri, "Vita Nicholai Sionitae: tracce eucologiche e ambiguità teologiche", *BZ* 104 (2011), 705-718. La stessa denominazione di βιβλίον si applica all'eucologio costantinopolitano Paris *Coislin* 213 del 1027: P. Kalaitzidis, "Il πρεσβύτερος Στρατήγιος e le due note bibliografiche del Codice *Paris Coislin 213*", *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 3, ser. 5 (2008), 180-181.

[4] V. Ruggieri, "The Cryptensis Euchology Gb XI", *OCP* 52 (1986), 325.

[5] R. F. Taft, "'Eastern Saints' Lives and Liturgy: Hagiography and New Perspectives in

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riconoscono che l'agiografia bizantina è una fonte essenziale per gli studi liturgici: "the historian of liturgical tradition must be immersed in the total life of the period under study. So we need histories of liturgy written from a new perspective, with time and place rather than ritual as their controlling frame"[6]. L'agiografia è certamente un orizzonte ulteriore per entrare nella quotidianità dell'uomo bizantino, ma essa deve essere scrutinata storicamente e confrontata, dove possibile, con i veri *realia* che gli studi storico-archeologici offrono a riguardo dell'uomo bizantino "in time and place", studi che i liturgisti spesso trascurano. Con lo sguardo volto così all'eucologio, inteso nel suo significato puntuale di "libro delle preghiere" — pur ove preghiere richiamano sia le anafore, come le varie *taxeis* e preghiere per le varie occasioni — ci si accorge che i testi più semplici, più scheletrici, di questo libro-collezione sono le preghiere approntate per fronteggiare evenienze, urgenze, eventi che avevano una ripercussione sulla vita quotidiana della gente. Questa è la gente semplice, spesso i "rustici" degli innumerevoli villaggi che formavano il benessere economico e sociale delle città, villaggi spesso legati a monasteri d'accanto (fenomeno diffuso in Palestina). Ritengo, avvicinandomi a queste preghiere, che esse possono essere sostenute (ed anche cronologicamente), riempite e sciolte nella loro fattibilità accostando ad esse del materiale desunto non solo dall'agiografia, ma anche dall'epigrafia e dalla archeologia[7]. Si ha modo così di schizzare realisticamente l'uomo bizantino, di cominciare a delineare da questi *realia*, desunti non solo da testi, come si diceva, ma anche dal terreno, un'antropologia bizantina vista dal basso[8]. Inoltre è da dire che molte di queste preghiere non hanno un'origine costantinopolitana, ma provengono dalle contrade meridionali; ed ancora, tante preghiere sorgono da istanze più rurali che urbane o metropolitane, considerando la loro esigenza di richiesta. Questa naturale *rusticitas* è l'ambiente vitale ove questo uomo bizantino affronta la sua esistenza giornaliera e stagionale. È da questo retrofondo culturale che il lettore è chiamato a comprendere l'onnipresente figura del diavolo, del maligno che innerva l'immaginario, anch'esso quotidiano, del *rusticus*

Liturgiology", in *In God's Hands. Essays on the Church and Ecumenism in Honour of Michael A. Fahey, S.J.*, ed. J. Z. Skira and M. S. Attridge, Louvain 2006, 34 e 38.

[6] Taft, "'Eastern Saints' Lives, 34.

[7] Per la consacrazione e fondazione di una chiesa mi son permesso di scrivere in *OCP* 54 (1988), 79-118, *OCP* 81 (2015), 411-432; per il rito di *apomyrizô* sulle reliquie: *JÖB* 43 (1993), 21-35; per il rito d'ingresso, *La Parola del Passato* 62 (2007), spec. 463-468.

[8] Accennai a questa problematica nel mio: La barriera presbiterale e il *templon* bizantino: ambivalenze semantiche fra liturgia, architettura e scultura, *Bizantinistica*, ser. II, 10 (2008, pub. 2009), spec. 39-41.

alle prese con i capricci incontrollabili delle stagioni, delle epidemie, delle siccità ed altro[9].

V'è una considerazione d'altra natura che conviene tuttavia fare in questa sede. Ad una pur rapida ispezione volta sugli indici dell'eucologio di J. Goar e di A. Dmitrievskij[10], il lettore constata la molteplice presenza di preghiere relative al pozzo e alla cisterna senza però scorgere una sola menzione, se non vado errato, di un acquedotto. Vien da chiedersi perché l'acquedotto non era ritenuto dalla gerarchia ecclesiastica un elemento degno di ricevere una sua propria preghiera. Questo grandioso impianto di ingegneria idraulica e architettonica richiedeva un enorme impegno, anche finanziario, per essere tenuto, tra l'altro, funzionale e pulito. Esso era lo strumento di approvvigionamento idrico in città, quando questa era nella sua prima espansione, tale da soddisfare gli edifici pubblici e le grandi cisterne. Questo equilibrio venne a cadere quando le invasioni si susseguirono e la rottura degli acquedotti divenne uno dei primi effetti di questa nuova calamità storica[11]. L'acquedotto divenne una "memoria" più che essere una esigenza urbana nel VII secolo avanzato, ed è sempre conveniente

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[9] Cf. C. Mango, "Diabolus Byzantinus", *DOP* 46 (1992), 215-233; A. Guillou, "Le diable byzantin", in *Πολύπλευρος νοῦς, Miscellanea für Peter Schneider zu seinem 60. Geburtstag*, eds. by C. Scholz and G. Makris, München – Leipzig 2000, 45-55. Non è questa la sede per affrontare la persistenza del mondo "pagano", più lungo nella campagna che nelle sedi urbane.

[10] J. Goar, *Euchologion sive Rituale Graecorum*, Venetiis 1730² (ripr. Graz 1960); A. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie Liturgičeskich Rukopisei, Euchologia*, II, Kiev 1901; si veda anche P. De Meester, *Rituale – Benedizionale Bizantino*, Roma 1930, 252 e 256-259.

[11] Si consideri che l'acquedotto a Costantinopoli (di Valente) era stato distrutto dagli Avari nel 629; bisogna aspettare il 766 quando Costantino V decise di rimetterlo in funzione chiamando operai specializzati dal Ponto, dall'Asia, dalla Tracia e dall'Hellas. Cf. *Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor. Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284-813*, eds. C. Mango and R. Scott, Oxford 1997, 608; *Nikephoros, patriarch of Constantinople, Short History*, ed. C. Mango, Washington D.C. 1990, 85, 1-12 (160-161); Id., "The water supply of Constantinople", in *Constantinople and its Hinterland*, ed. by C. Mango and G. Dagron with the assistance of G. Greatrex, Aldershot 1995, 17-19. Per le cisterne a Costantinopoli, cf. J. Bogdanovic, s.v. "Cistern", *Encyclopaedia of the Hellenic World* (online), eds. K. Ferla and G. Barov, Athens 2008, 1-10; Ph. Forchheimer und J. Strzygowski (*Die byzantinischen Wasserbehälter von Konstantinopel*, Wien 1893) non registrano iscrizioni. Le recenti ricerche sulle cisterne costantinopolitane attestano l'importanza e l'incremento di esse avuto dopo il VII sec.: K. Altuğ, "Planlama ilkeleri ve yapım teknikleri açısından tarihi yarımada'daki Bizans dönemi: sarnıçları", *Restorasyon, Konservasyon* 15.3 (2012), 3-22 con bibl.; Id., "Tarihi Yarımada'da Bizans dönemi sarnıçları envanteri işiğinda topografik gözlemler", *Istanbul Araştırmaları Yilliği* 3 (2014), 23-38 (si noti l'incremento di cisterne nel periodo alto-medievale, pur se di ridotte dimensioni). Di rilievo sono gli studi recenti di C. Barsanti versati su alcune cisterne della capitale che, pur se volti a identificare materiali scultorei — spessissimo di riuso — di riflesso porgono dei dati cronologici sulla struttura idrica. Cf. C. Barsanti, "Una ricerca sulle sculture in opera nelle cisterne bizantine di Istanbul: la Ipek Bodrum Sarnici (la cisterna n. 10)", in *Vie per Bisanzio*, a cura di A. Rigo, A. Babuin e M. Trizio, Vol. I, Bari 2013, 477-498; Id., "Le cisterne bizantine di Istanbul: nuovi dati sulla scultura dal V al VII secolo. La cisterna n. 9 (la c.d. Cisterna della

ricordare che le città provviste di acquedotto erano di antiche fondazioni[12]. Non v'era ragione di chiedere aiuto dall'alto quando la stessa città non poteva permettersi una considerevole riparazione ed il dispositivo idrico non era più considerato essenziale per la vita d'una città in fase di profonda trasformazione urbana e sociale.

Qualcosa di analogo accade anche nelle regioni meridionali, Siria e Palestina, e questo non necessariamente a causa del dominio arabo. Il fato degli acquedotti urbani segue in genere quello delle città dell'Asia Minore[13] e la transizione urbana da uno stadio tardo-antico a quello medievale segue di pari passo la stessa evoluzione[14]. V'è comunque da riconoscere una evidente differenza geomorfologica fra l'Asia Minore e Siria-Palestina. Le

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Scuola)", in *Acta XV Congressus Internationalis Archaeologiae Christianae, Toleti (8-12.9.2008): episcopus, civitas, territorium*, Città del Vaticano 2013, 1481-1496.

[12] Le poche città costruite dal VI sec. in poi non hanno quel tessuto urbano proprio di una città antica. Molto realisticamente l'imperatore Anastasio pensa ad una intelligente e sicura canalizzazione per convogliare l'acqua in città, a Dara, nel 505-507 (Procopio, *De Aedificiis* II, 2, 1-9; Marcellinus Comes, *Chronica*, ed. Th Mommsen, in *MHG, Auct. Antt.* XI, ad an. 518,3) con la grandi cisterne (I. Furlan, "Cisterne a Dara", in *Arte Profana e Sacra a Bisanzio*, a cura di A. Iacobini e E. Zanini, Roma 1995, spec. 51-3) La città, forse Levissos, fondata sull'isola di Gemile in Licia era chiamata da M. Sanuto la "Insula Cisternarum": *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis Super Terrae Sanctae*, Hanoviae 1611, II/1, pars. IV, c. XXVI, 90. Cf. V. Ruggieri, "Quale Nicola? Un problematico ciclo affrescato su Gemile Adası (Licia)", in *Polidoro. Studi offerti ad Antonio Carile*, ed. G. Vespignani, Spoleto 2013, 133-135. Lo stesso fenomeno riscontrai in Caria sulle città site ad Alakışla e Osmaniye: V. Ruggieri, *Il golfo di Keramos: dal tardo-antico al medioevo bizantino*, Soveria Mannelli 2003, 155-209; K. Hattersley-Smith – V. Ruggieri, "A Byzantine City near Osmaniye (Dalaman) in Turkey. A Preliminary Report", *OCP* 56 (1990), 135-164.

[13] Per la Palestina è esaustiva l'analisi di L. Di Segni, "The water supply of Palestine in literary and epigraphical sources", in *The Aqueducts of Israel*, ed. by D. Amit, J. Patrich and Y. Hirschfeld (*Journal of Roman Archaeology*, Suppl. Ser. 46), Portsmouth (Rhode Island) 2002 spec. 57-67.

[14] Per la Siria discordi i pareri sulla cronologia e modalità di questo passaggio: C. Foss, "Syria in Transition, A.D. 550-750: an Archaeological Approach", *DOP* 51 (1997), 189-269 (una continuità, pur se ridotta, fino al terremoto del 749); H. Kennedy, "The Last Century of Byzantine Syria: a Reinterpretation", *Byzantinische Forschungen* 10 (1985), 141-184 (dal 540 al 600 le città divennero centri agricoli). Per la lettura del tessuto urbano, cf. anche di H. Kennedy, "From *Polis* to *Madina*: urban changes in late Antique and Early Islamic Syria", *Past and Present* 106 (1985), 3-27. H. Hirschfeld, "Farms and Villages in Byzantine Palestine", *DOP* 51 (1997), 71 indizia conclusioni analoghe a Kennedy: "One would be far off the mark in saying that the Muslim city of the East is closer in shape and internal structure to the large villages of the Byzantine period than to the *polis* of the Hellenistic-Roman Era". E tuttavia resta chiaro che per quanto riguarda gli investimenti edilizi avutisi dal regno di Tiberio fino al periodo umayyade sono di gran lunga superiori quelli ricordati nei villaggi piuttosto che nelle città (queste ultime avevano una maggioranza nel periodo fra Arcadio e Giustino II): cf. L. Di Segni, "Epigraphic documentation on building in the Provinces of Palaestina and Arabia, 4th-7th C.", in *The Roman and Byzantine Near East*, II, *JRA*, Suppl. Series 31, Porthsmouth (Rhode Island) 1999, 163-164.

regioni meridionali mostravano una rilevante differenza fra le aree coltivabili e quelle prettamente desertiche ricorrendo a diverse modalità per l'approvvigionamento idrico, una *conditio sine qua non* per la loro esistenza. Questa esigenza idrica era primaria nei villaggi, nei piccoli agglomerati abitativi e nei monasteri[15] ove l'acqua era richiesta non solo per il fabbisogno degli abitanti, ma anche per gli animali e per la coltivazione della terra. Le stesse esigenze e procedure sono riscontrabili anche in Siria ed è sostanzialmente vero quanto già tanto tempo fa fu diagnosticato: "Dans les contrée désertiques, l'eau conditionne la vie des hommes; elle impose aux nomades les parcours traditionnels de leurs transhumances, suivant les lignes de puits; elle régit l'activité des sédentaires, qui lui doivent leur existence et leur richesse; sur la carte des régions arides, la répartition des groupements humains répond à la distribution naturelle des ressources hydrauliques"[16]. Tutti i lavori archeologici avutisi in Siria hanno riscontrato quanto importante fosse l'approvvigionamento idrico, sia che il sito fosse un monastero oppure un villaggio o una κώμη. In questa regione, inoltre, si è notata una proliferazione del *qanat* come dei grandi depositi idrici, usualmente costruiti fuori dal centro abitato[17].

Sembra ormai accettato all'interno degli studi relativi alla civiltà bizantina che con la fine del VI e prima metà del VII secolo qualcosa è cambiato, e radicalmente, non solo nel tessuto urbano ma anche in quello rurale. Ed ancora v'è da riconoscere come questo cambiamento non abbia toccato

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[15] Molto è stato scritto sulla tipologia di insediamento di questi aggregati. Si veda inizialmente: D. Bar, "Rural monasticism as a Key Element in the Christianization of Byzantine Palestine", *Harvard Theological Review* 98/1 (2005), 49-65; Y. Hirschfeld, "Farms and villages", spec. 60-70 (con i ridimensionamenti dei bath-houses); A. Harris, "'Let streams of living water flow': the Archaeology of Secular Settlement in a Monastic Landscape", *Reading Medieval Studies* 33 (2007), 37-68 per il caso esemplare di Shivta, nel Negev (in questo sito due ostraca menzionano la κιστέρνα, ed in un caso il lettore Giovanni Victor ha il dovere di pulirla: H.C. Youtie, *American Journal of Archaeology* 40 [1936], 457).

[16] M. Soubhi Mazloum, "L'organisation hydraulique de deux oasis antiques: Qdeim et 'Amšareddi", in R. Mouterde et A. Poidebard, *Le Limes de Chalcis. Organisation de la steppe eu Haute Syrie romaine*, Paris 1945, vol. I, 117. Cf. anche M. Rivoal, "Le peuplement byzantin et la mise en valeur de la Syrie Centrale: l'example des plateaux basaltique (Jebel al-'ala, Jebel hass et Jebel shbeyt)", *Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée* 56 (2010), 79-92.

[17] Cf. D.R. Lightfoot, *Syrian Qanat Romanii*, on-line www.waterhistory.org, 1-9; J. Wessel and R. Hogeveen, "Renovation of Byzantine Qanats in Syria as a water Source for Contemporary Settlements", in *Handbook of Regenerative Landscape Design*, ed. R. L. France, Boca Raton – New York 2008, spec. 238-244. Interessante il caso della *kome* di Androna (Andarin), scavata di recente: M. Mango, "Landscape Study at Andarin, Syria", *Bulletin of the Council for British Research in the Levant*, 2007/2, 78-82; della Stessa, ancora, "Oxford Excavations at Andarin (Androna): September 1998", *Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes*, on-line arch.ox.ac.uk, 1-26, e *Baths, reservoirs and water use at Androna in late antiquity and the early Islamic period*, in *Residences, Castles, Settlements. Transformation processes from late antiquity to early Islam in Bilad al Sham*, Damascus 2008, 73-81.

solo la fisica esistenza della città e della campagna, ma esso ha mutato la consapevolezza dell'uomo — sia esso urbanizzato o rustico — che ha esperito la sua precarietà in un contesto di cambiamento[18].

Di recente nuove prospettive metodologiche sono entrate nel dibattito sulle ragioni della cosiddetta "fine dell'antichità"; mi riferisco alle ricerche paleoambientali e paleoclimatiche avutesi sull'area anatolica e mediterranea. V'è comunque la consapevolezza che è impossibile allo stato attuale della ricerca stabilire esatti (cronologicamente) e circoscritti (geograficamente) legami fra i dati acquisiti e le variazioni sociali ed economiche avutesi nei territori antichi[19]. Una fruttuosa pista di ricerca per valutare realisticamente la fine del mondo antico e i primi secoli medievali è l'analisi della campagna, dei territori e insediamenti non prettamente urbani. Si ricordi che la città viveva del lavoro della campagna e dei villaggi in essa posti. Sia la città come il villaggio patirono delle avversità, ma quanto prevalse come tipologia di insediamento abitativo e produttivo fu certamente il villaggio, piccolo o grande che possa essere stato. In genere, e questo è sintomatico per l'Asia Minore, la conoscenza della cultura socio-economica acquisita s'è basata soprattutto sull'archeologia della città, senza dubbio necessaria ma non esclusiva. Se la Siria, la Palestina col Negev offrono più documentazione sugli insediamenti rurali, villaggi e monasteri connessi con una fitta rete di relazione fra loro e con le città di appartenenza giuridica, l'Asia Minore è ancora in larga parte non investigata con un archeologia rurale: nuove generazioni di archeologi, in siti turchi, sono ora interessati alla countryside (in Licia, Caria, Panfilia, Isauria, Cilicia, Frigia, Pisidia, Cappadocia), e ci si avvia ad avere una più ricca e variegata mappa dell'impero in transizione. Un iniziale risultato si è avuto, pur considerando la limitata geografia (sud dell'Asia Minore e nord-ovest della Siria) e l'incertezza delle acquisizioni paleoambientali e climatiche, col tracciare una pista di ricerca: "the village is preferred as the key social unit; commercial exchange and communication operating on local and regional scales

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[18] Una comprensiva lettura di questa fase storica è ben riassunta da M. Witthow, "Early Medieval Byzantium and the End of the Ancient World", *Journal of Agrarian Change* 9/1 (2009), 134-153 con attinente bibliografia. Un caso circostanziato, quello di Mileto, è presentato da Ph. Niewöhner, "The End of the Byzantine City in Anatolia, The Case of Miletus", in *Städte im lateinischen Westen und im griechischen Osten zwischen Spätantike und Früher Neuzeit, Topographie – Recht – Religion*, ed. E. Gruber, M. Popović, M. Scheutz, H. Weigl, Wien 2016, 63-77.

[19] E. Xoplaki et al., "The Medieval Climate Anomaly and Byzantium: a review of the evidence on climatic fluctuations, economic performance and societal change", *Quaternary Science Reviews* 30 (2015), 1-24; J. Haldon et al., "The Climate and Environment of Byzantine Anatolia: Integrating Science, History, and Archaeology", *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 45/2 (2014), spec. 137-153; I. G. Telelis, "Climatic Fluctuations in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East AD 300-1500 from Byzantine Documentary and Proxy Physical Paleoclimatic Evidence – A Comparison", *JÖB* 58 (2008), spec. 184-190.

remain the most vital; and more risk-sensitive choices are made concerning what to grow and eat and how many children to have"[20].

All'interno di questo nuovo orizzonte abitato si può valutare l'estrema importanza che qualsiasi insediamento poneva sull'acqua. Le riserve d'acqua divennero, soprattutto nella campagna e nei monasteri, la priorità assoluta per l'esistenza, umana ed animale. Credo che questa istanza si percepì già nel pieno e tardo VI secolo quando il mutamento sociale su accennato cominciò ad essere acutamente avvertito; in questo orizzonte l'acqua risultò una benedizione, un dono che doveva esser raccolto e ben custodito (foto 1).

L'Eucologio e l'acqua

Se si considera l'acqua nel suo uso quotidiano, sono due le pratiche rituali che l'eucologio conserva. V'è una prima relativa ad un buon numero di preghiere differenti ma unite ad un rito e riguarda la purificazione del pozzo e/o della cisterna[21]; la seconda, molto più semplice e priva di

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[20] A. R. Commito, *Southern Asia Minor and North West Syria at the End of Antiquity: a View from the Contryside*, Doc. Thesis in the Univ. of Michigan, Classical Art and Archaeology, 2014, 402.

[21] Cf. De Meester, *Rituale-benedizionale bizantino* 256-259. La parola λάκκος riportata nella rubrica del *Barberini 336* (*L'Eucologio Barberini gr. 336*, a cura di S. Parenti e E. Velkovska, Roma 2000², n. 238), che vedremo dopo, deve intendersi come cisterna, serbatoio d'acqua, raramente si scambia per pozzo, ma non da intendersi come lago (*ib.* 365). Λάκκος appare nelle iscrizioni: P.-L. Gautier, *Inscriptions de la Jordanie*, t. 2, *Région Centrale* (*Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*), Paris 1986, n. 135 (cattedrale di Medaba, anno 575-6). L'opera si compie grazie al vescovo Sergio che allestisce anche un ἀναβρύτον, probabilmente una fontana (ritroveremo βρύσις nell'eucologio); cf. anche Gautier, *Inscriptions* n. 137). M. Piccirillo ("La 'Cattedrale' di Medaba", *Liber Anuus* 31 [1981], 308-310 e pianta II) descrive e pone in pianta le iscrizioni e la bocca della cisterna che doveva essere sormontata da una vera ("del pozzo": p. 309). In effetti si trattava di una cisterna, sovrastata da una vera, sottostante l'atrio della chiesa ad ovest. Questa disposizione si riscontra in moltissime chiese in Anatolia, in Cilicia come in Siria (foto 2, 3). Questa pianificazione architettonica con i suddetti dispositivi idrici richiamano alcuni dati degli eucologi patriarcali, come anche del *Typikon* di Santa Sofia. La benedizione delle acque delle Teofanie si celebrava, come ben si sa, anche in chiesa: *Eucologio Barberini* n. 127 ss; più esplicito è M. Arranz, *L'eucologio costantinopolitano* 198 (ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ); J. Mateos, *Le Typikon de la Grande Église*, I (OCA 165), Roma 1962, 182⁷ (questa pagina del *Typikon* necessita d'esser ben scrutinata a causa della "doppia" benedizione sulle acque; pensare con Mateos [p. 182¹³⁻¹⁴] che per la seconda si tratti dell'acqua per il battesimo del 6 gennaio mi sembra strano, visto che per il battesimo si benedice appositamente l'acqua. Benché M. Arranz [La Liturgie de l'Euchologe Slave du Sinai, in *Christianity among the Slavs. The Heritage of Saints Cyril and Methodius*, ed. E. Farrugia, R. Taft, G. K. Piovesana, OCA 231, Roma 1988, 27-27 e note 19, 21] cerchi di dipanare la questione, non sono del tutto convinto). Gli eucologi ci riportano invece a quanto riscontrato a Medaba. Sia il *Berberini gr.* 336 (n. 133), come il *Γβ* 1 e il *Coislin gr.* 213 (Arranz, 205) riportano un'altra preghiera per l'acqua delle Teofanie che si ufficia ἐν τῇ φιάλῃ τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Con confidenza, dunque, si può ritenere che

rubrica, è relativa allo solo scavo del pozzo. Quest'ultima a volte indica pure la speranza di trovare l'acqua, la polla sorgiva[22]. Prima di entrare nel merito della quotidianità dell'acqua, è doveroso ricordare una preghiera — un frammento decontestualizato, direi — del *Barberini 336* (εὐχὴ ἐπὶ διακονίας λεγομένη ἐν τῇ ἐμβάτῃ), analizzata in modo egregio da A. Jacob[23]. La presenza della preghiera all'interno del rito della benedizione delle acque delle Teofanie nella sua redazione siriaca, posta usualmente alla fine del rito[24], indizia la sua origine siro-palestinese, ma certamente non ne fa una preghiera per gli ammalati[25]; dal tenore del testo, tuttavia, l'acqua era plurifunzionale, sia che essa fosse bevuta, aspersa o versata per abluzione. Viene naturale constatare come quest'acqua non fosse denominata "acqua di vita", essenziale per la vita degli uomini come degli animali. Credo che ciò che gli eucologi, dunque, intendevano si concentrava soprattutto sulla purificazione di un pozzo o di una cisterna — e questo ovviamente lascia intendere che i due manufatti già esistevano — e ancora sullo scavo iniziale di un pozzo e/o di una fonte, di una polla naturale[26]. Inoltre è da rilevare

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i dispositivi idrici posti ad ovest — o nell'atrio — delle basiliche siano stati usati per questa cerimonia. Cf. anche J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, t. 6, Paris 1967, n. 2915 (λάκκος tradotto come *bassin*). Questo rito di purificazione passa anche nell'*Euchologium Synaiticum*, ed. J. Frček, PO 120 (24.5), 696-698 [31-32]. V'è in questo eucologio una strana testimonianza, non presente apparentemente nelle fonti bizantine, relativa alla purificazione di un pozzo ed una nuova fontana (*ib.* 698-699 [p. 32]).

[22] Si tralascia in questa sede la benedizione delle sante acque delle Teofanie che non attiene formalmente al nostro tema, pur se in avanti si citerà; lo stesso dicasi per la benedizione dell'acqua per il battesimo e quella della cerimonia dell'ἀπομυρίζω, altrove da me discussa (*JÖB* 43 [1993] 25-29).

[23] "Note sur la prière Κτίστα τῶν ὑδάτων de l'Euchologe Barberini", *Byz* 56 (1986), 139-147; cf. *L'Eucologio Barberini*, n. 231.

[24] John, Marquess of Bute and E. A. W. Budge, *The Blessing of the Waters on the Eve of Epiphany. The Greek, Latin Syriac, Coptic and Russian Versions*, London 1901, 77-8 e 100-101; con altri mss e leggere varianti, in: *Pontificale iuxta ritum Ecclesiae Syrorum occidentalium, id est Antiochiae*, ed. I.-M. Vosté, Città del Vaticano 1942, III, 380. Non toccano le fonti antiche: B. Groen, "Curative Holy Water and the Small Water Blessing in the Orthodox Church of Greece", in *Rites and Rituals of the Christian East*, ed. B. Groen, N. Glibetic and G. Radle, Leuven 2014, 387-404 e B. A. Butcher, "Figuring liturgically: a Ricoeurian Analisis of the Byzantine Rite 'Great Blessing of Water'", *ib.* 405-421.

[25] Per la lettura sugli ammalati forse è da considerare l'influenza del *Γβ* VII (G. Passarelli, *L'eucologio cryptense* Γ.β. VII *[sec. X]*, Thessaloniki 1982, n. 160) e del *Bod. Auct. E. 5.13* (A. Jacob, "Un euchologe du Saint-Sauveur 'in Lingua Phari' de Messine. Le Bodleianus Auct. E. 5.13", *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome* 50 [1980] n. 13.8 — quest'ultimo ms, tuttavia, propone la preghiera come εἰς πηγὴν ὕδατος; su questa preghiera si spera di scrivere altrove).

[26] Il pozzo è usualmente a sezione circolare, pur se non regolare (foto 4). Per la delimitazione della sponda, in periodo bizantino, si andò perdendo l'uso del puteale cilindrico e rifinito in favore di una semplice margella. La margella, marmorea o semplicemente calcarea, era sostenuta da un muretto quadrato in *opus incertum* o poggiava direttamente sul terreno,

che per lo scavo non ci è trasmessa una fonte rubricale; questa appare, e ben dettagliata, quando si tratta della purificazione[27].

Uno sguardo alla collazione fatta da De Meester[28] mostra come le preghiere relative allo scavo di un pozzo siano relativamente poche. Una, quella riportata dal *Sinaiticus gr. 958*, del X secolo e di origine palestinese, sembra conservare delle qualità originali, non testimoniate dagli altri eucologi ed avente comunque un corpo di preghiera diverso. Vediamo il testo del *Sinaiticus*:

Εὐχὴ εἰς φρέαρ νέον, μέλλον ὀρύσσεσθαι.
Δέσποτα Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, οὗ τὸ πανάγατον καὶ πανάγιον Πνεῦμα κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ τὴν φύσιν αυτοῦ εὐλογήσας, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσιν ἀποκαθάρας τῆς ἐν Ἰορδάνῃ ἐπιφανείας σου, ὁ εὐλόγησας τὴν πηγὴν τοῦ Σιλωάμ, εὐλόγησον καὶ τὸ νεωστὶ ὀρυχθὲν φρέαρ ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί σου, καὶ ποίησον αὐτὸ ἁγιασμοῦ δῶρον, νοσημάτων ἀλεξητήριον, πηγὴν ἀφθαρσίας πᾶσι τοῖς χριομένοις πίστει καὶ μεταλαμβάνουσιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ, φυγάδευσον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν φαντασίαν δαιμονιώδη, ἐπὶ βλάβῃ ἀνθρώπων καὶ κτηνῶν παντοίων καὶ τετραπόδων προσγινομένην, ἐν τῇ σφραγίδι τοῦ ἁγίου σοῦ Πνεύματος, ἵνα καὶ ἐν τούτῳ εὐχαριστούντες δοξάσωμεν τὸ παντοδύναμον ὄνομά σου, τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος νῦν καὶ ἀεί[29].

Preghiera per un nuovo pozzo, da scavarsi.
(Sovrano Signore Gesù Cristo, il cui Spirito, il tutto benedetto e santo, dall'inizio aleggiava sull'acqua benedicendo la sua natura, e la tua epifania nel Giordano ha nell'acqua purificato la natura degli uomini; tu che hai benedetto la fonte di Siloe, per il tuo nome benedici il pozzo or ora scavato e rendilo dono di santifi-

incassata a delimitare la bocca del pozzo stesso. Molti sono i casi in cui la margella è pervenuta segnata da più solchi causati dallo sfregamento della corda o della catena della situla; cf. V. Ruggieri, "Pozzo e cisterna", *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Medievale* 9 (1998), 711. Al momento non rinvengo dati archeologici che indichino l'approntamento di una polla per una sua più ordinata funzione con l'addizione di una vera; le fontane avevano le condutture per convogliare le acque. Non considero in questo contesto tutti quei casi, e son molti, di *hagiasmata* legati o meno a sorgenti d'acqua (anche termale) e relazionati ad una adiacente basilica. Inutile aggiungere come queste sorgenti erano legate a culti pre-cristiani. Per la sinonimia di pozzo e sorgente, si veda: W. Clarysse, "Gospel of Thomas Logion 13: 'The Bubbling Well which I Myself dug'", in *Philohistôr. Miscellanea in honorem Caroli Laga septuagenarii*, ed. A. Schoors et P. van Deun, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 60, Leuven 1994, 6-7.

27 In data abbastanza alta quest'acqua era bevuta anche in segno di penitenza: F. van der Paverd, *The Kanonarion by John, Monk and Deacon and Didascalia Patrum*, Kanonika 12, Rome 2006, 51 (96^{6-12}) e 144-145; M. Arranz, *I Penitenziali Bizantini. Il Protokanonarion o Kanonarion Primitivo di Giovanni monaco e diacono e il Deuterokanonarion o "Secondo Kanonarion" di Basilio monaco*, Kanonika 3, Roma 1993, 96.

28 De Meester, *Rituale-Benedizionale*, 252-253. Il *Bodleianus*, benché riporti il titolo "preghiera per la fonte di acqua", non appartiene a questa classe. V'è da dire che qualche ms indica assieme vuoi il pozzo che la fonte (πηγή, βρύσις). Altro corpo è offerto dal *Γβ* 1 e dal *Coislin gr.* 213: M. Arranz, *L'eucologio costantinopolitano agli inizi del secolo XI*, Roma 1996, 387.

29 Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie*, 33.

cazione, rimedio per le malattie, sorgente di immortalità a tutti coloro che sono unti nella fede e che ad essa [acqua] partecipano ed allontana da essa qualsiasi forza demonica che sopraggiunga a danno degli uomini e dei molteplici animali e bestie, nel sigillo del tuo Santo Spirito, affinché ringranziando[ti] pure in ciò possiamo glorificare l'onnipotente tuo nome, del Padre, del Figlio e dello Spirito Santo, ora e sempre).

Son tre, essenzialmente, le qualità che vorrei far notare all'interno del corpo della preghiera: la prima è la sua natura cristologica che la differenzia dalle altre della stessa tipologia; l'uso di χρίω; la presenza degli animali come destinatari del dono dell'acqua. L'orante si rivolge a Cristo e con immagine ardita descrive come il suo Santo Spirito aleggiava sull'acqua (primordiale) (Gn 1,2), santificando[30] la natura dell'acqua. A questo preludio sulla creazione, è l'acqua del Giordano, chiamata in causa, che diventa strumento di nuova creazione, purificando la natura dell'uomo grazie all'epifania (battesimo) dello stesso Cristo. Il tema dell'epifania-battesimo è ancor preso come elemento celebrativo nella citazione della piscina di Siloe[31]. Il vangelo di Giovanni richiama la piscina (9,7) a proposito del cieco nato — quasi una glossa battesimale — sulla affermazione apodittica di Cristo, espressa precedentemente in occasione della festa: "Se qualcuno ha sete, venga a me, e beva" (Gv 7,37), giacché Egli è l'acqua viva. Con questo retroterra cristologico la preghiera arriva alla fase epicletica (εὐλόγησον, ποίησον) richiamando una fraseologia espressa nella grande preghiera delle Teofanie[32] che, da parte sua, nella sezione anamnetica fa richiamo a personaggi dell'Antico Testamento, e non è inoltre una preghiera cristologica. I beneficiari di questa benedizione sono πᾶσι τοῖς χριομένοις πίστει καὶ μεταλαμβάνουσιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ (acqua), una fraseologia ben conosciuta utilizzata per l'acqua[33]. Χριομένοις sembra apparentemente aver sostituito κεχρημένοις (o χρωμένοις) in questo manoscritto che è "l'un des plus an-

[30] Indicativa è la mancanza dello Spirito nella parte epicletica che segue! In realtà è sempre Gesù Cristo che santifica il nuovo pozzo (εὐλόγησον) e vien così da supporre che il redattore della preghiera riteneva come ovvio che fosse sempre Cristo a santificare attraverso il "suo" Spirito, benché non lo citi.

[31] La piscina, si sa, era il luogo da dove si attingeva l'acqua per la feste delle Capanne, citata in Gv 7,2, attualmente ancora esistente. I bizantini, conservandola, edificarono su di essa una chiesa.

[32] Εὐλογίας πηγήν, ἁγιασμοῦ δῶρον, νοσιμάτων ἀλεξητήριον: *Eucologio Barberini* n. 131 (p. 137); Arranz, *L'eucologio costantinopolitano*, 202: ἀφθαρσίας πηγήν, ἁγιασμοῦ δῶρον, νοσιμάτων ἀλεξητήριον.

[33] Di altra natura il senso del participio: lo stesso *Sin. gr. 958* lo riporta nella diakonica delle Teofanie (Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* II, 27; il codice riporta χριωμένοις, lezione che si rinviene anche nel *Sin. gr. 957* [Dmitrievskij, *ibid.*, 7], e riportata anche nel *Barberini 336*, nella preghiera Κτίστα τῶν ὑδάτων). Il *Barberini 336* usa ἀρυομένοις nella diakonica e la lezione "corretta" (κεχρημένοις) nella preghiera Μέγας εἶ Κύριε: *L'Eucologio Barberini*, n. 127 e 131.

ciens témoins de la byzantinisation liturgique de la région" (palestinese)[34]. Questi χριομένοι πίστει sono certamente i battezzati che sono stati in effetti unti al tempo del loro battesimo e, se volessimo ipoteticamente spingere la mano del redattore, questi stessi partecipano (μεταλαμβάνω è un tipico verbo eucaristico) all'acqua pura. Basta uno sguardo fugace alla cerimonia del battesimo, come trasmessaci dal *Barberini gr. 336* e si nota subito come la nostra preghiera abbia attinto testualmente da essa: τοῖς χριομένοις πίστει, καὶ μεταλαμβάνουσιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ εἰς δόξαν...[35]. Prima di procedere oltre, dal tenore del testo risulta evidente che questa nostra preghiera prevede, e dunque segue cronologicamente, la grande preghiera (Μέγας εἶ Κύριε) delle Teofanie, restando come essa cristologica. L'ultima novità di questa preghiera riguarda coloro che sono beneficiati da quest'acqua: la comunità del sito e gli animali[36]. Quest'ultima caratteristica addita il contesto rurale nel quale la preghiera era usata, e credo si possa realisticamente pensare alla Palestina.

La sottostante tematica battesimale — incentrata, com'è, la preghiera sull'azione cristologica nel dare la nuova vita — collega questa preghiera strettamente alla tematica e testualità del Μέγας εἶ Κύριε, presente sia nel rito del battesimo, come per le acque delle sante Teofanie. Quale che sia la dipendenza di questa preghiera fra i due riti (battesimo, acqua delle Teofanie), non spetta a queste pagine[37]; certamente la nostra preghiera sul pozzo deriva dal Μέγας εἶ Κύριε e proviene da ambienti palestinesi. Inoltre, pur con un testo estremamente semplice, la preghiera preserva la sua natura cristologica allargando, in modo originale, i benefici anche sugli animali, da soma come da pascolo, e mostrando così anche un tenore di alta antichità, certamente nel corso del VI secolo[38].

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[34] Jacob, note 147.

[35] *L'eucologio Barberini*, n. 123,4.

[36] Costoro sono ricordati nelle due preghiere per la siccità: *Eucologio Barberini*, n. 194 (ἐπὶ τοὺς χρήζοντας, cioè il popolo, e τὰ κτήνη), n. 195 (ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ κτήνη τῆς γῆς). Si veda la cura per gli animali nel Γβ VII: G. Passarelli, *L'eucologio cryptenses Γβ* VII, n. 230 e nella versione di Goar, *Euchologion* 589.

[37] Secondo Giacomo di Edessa: "Car les saints Pères n'ont pas conseillé de prendre les paroles du saint sacrifice (= l'eucaristia) ou des autres offices mystérieux de l'Église (che leggo come i sacramenti) et de les dire dans cet office (benedizione delle acque delle Teofanie) ...". Il canone è citato da Giorgio, vescovo degli Arabi, in *Les canons et les résolutions canoniques de Rabboula, etc.* ed. F. Nau, Paris 1906, 94. Per la problematica e opinioni su questa preghiera, cf. N. E. Denysenko, *The Blessing of Waters and Epiphany. The Eastern Liturgical Tradition*, Farnham (Surrey) 2012, 83-101; M. K. Farag, "A Shared Prayer over Water in the Eastern Christian Traditions", in *Liturgy in Migration. From the Uper Room to Cyberspace*, ed. T. Berger, Collegeville, Minnesota 2012, spec. 43-63.

[38] Ben differente è il tenore della preghiera sullo scavo d'un pozzo e rinvenimento dell'acqua presente negli eucologi patriarcali posteriori: Arranz, *L'eucologio costantinopolitano*, 385, Goar, *Euchologion*, 550.

Si è accennato in precedenza alla interscambiabilità di *puteus* (φρέαρ) e *fons* (πηγή)[39], ed in effetti questa ambivalenza si trova in testi agiografici di data alta. La fonte, il pozzo erano ausili indispensabili per i monaci eremiti o cenobiti[40], come per i villaggi, e gli animali attingevano da questi. La ricerca dell'acqua avviene anche nel mondo laico, a livello privato. Una donna di Apamea spende una fortuna per scendere in profondità per scavare un pozzo (φρέαρ ὄρυξεν), ma invano; grazie all'aiuto di S. Teodosio, del monastero della Rupe, ella avrà l'acqua. Si cala nel pozzo l'icona del santo e all'istante esce l'acqua, tanto che si riempie mezzo pozzo[41]. La Vita di San Nicola di Sion offre un'immagine più completa nel mostrare l'agire del santo all'interno di un villaggio alle prese con la carenza d'acqua[42]. Gli abitanti del villaggio di Arnabanda, assieme agli animali (τοῖς τετραπόδοις), sono in pericolo a causa di una pericolosa fonte; Nicola accorre in soccorso. Si va alla fonte processionalmente con a capo il libro dei vangeli e croci — una procedura che risponde bene alla scena e che forse ricalca la prassi non registrata dal nostro *Sinaiticus*[43]. Dopo la preghiera recitata da Nicola[44], il Santo prende la zappa e scava (ὤρυξεν); in quel momento scaturì la benedizione dell'acqua (ἔβρυσεν ἡ εὐλογία τοῦ ὕδατος). Per i pozzi gli ausili archeologici sono assenti[45]. Sono innumerevoli le vene rinvenute, e spessissimo di riuso e non *in situ*, sparse sui siti e legate ai campi o ai villaggi; di rado

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[39] "Omnis puteus fons; non omnis fons puteus. Ubi enim aqua de terra manat et usui praebetur haurientibus, fons dicitur; sed si in promptu et superficie sit, fons tantum dicitur, si autem in alto et profundo sit, ita puteus vocatur, ut fontis nomen non amittat." Augustinus, *In Joannis Evang. Tractatus*, 15, PG 35, 1512 (e questo si vedrà subito).

[40] Acepsimas attingeva l'acqua da una fonte, usata questa anche da un pastore per il suo gregge: Théodoret de Cyr, *Histoire des moines de Syrie*, ed. P. Canivet et A. Leroy-Molinghen, SC 257, Paris 1979, XV, 2^{13} ss. Anche i monaci del monastero di Teodosio alla Rupe erano soliti attingere l'acqua dal torrente, prima che grazie all'intercessione di S. Teodosio, Dio concedesse τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν τοῦ ὕδατος grazie ad una fonte (πηγή): G. Mosco, *Il Prato*, ed. R. Maisano, Napoli 1982, n. 80.

[41] L'icona agisce come benedizione, ma alla fine il φρέαρ è chiamato λάκκος: Mosco, *Il Prato*, n. 81.

[42] La sezione di testo compresa fra i cc. 20-24 è problematica nella sua redazione. Cf. *La Vita di San Nicola di Sion*, 48-54.

[43] Il *Sinaiticus gr.* 961 (XI-XII sec.), nella sua rubrica, accenna ad una prassi. Il sacerdote gira per tre volte attorno al pozzo nuovo incensando e così versa poi nel pozzo dell'acqua delle sante Teofanie: Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* II, 81. Vien da supporre che l'uso dell'acqua delle Teofanie, per quanto riguarda l'inaugurazione di un nuovo pozzo, sia posteriore alla semplice preghiera e processione come previste nella Vita di S. Nicola di Sion (metà VI sec. circa).

[44] Ruggieri, "Vita Nicholai Sionitae", 713-716.

[45] A Nessana, nell'atrio ad ovest della chiesa dei SS Sergio e Bacco, è stata ritrovata una lastra di calcare con un foro passante; su di essa era inciso il versetto del Ps 28,3 (+ φωνὴ Κυρίο[υ]...). Cf. A. E. Felle, *Biblia Epigraphica. La Sacra Scrittura nella documentazione epigrafica dell'Orbis Christianvs Antiqvvs (III-VIII secolo)*, Bari 2006, n. 245. Su questo versetto si dirà dopo.

v'è qualche accenno di croce sui blocchi classici riutilizzati per limitare la bocca del pozzo (foto 5).

Come si diceva, l'eucologio fissa prima una preghiera per lo scavo d'un pozzo e per il rinvenimento dell'acqua; non così accade per la cisterna perché suppone la presenza (o venuta) dell'acqua. Quando, tuttavia, i due dispositivi idrici diventano funzionali e sono allora depositi di acqua, essi sono accomunati nella stessa preghiera nel caso che qualcosa di impuro cada nell'acqua. E molte sono queste preghiere che sottintendono — a volte è esplicita — una valenza esorcistica. Già a suo tempo De Meester rilevava la dipendenza di questa caratteristica dalla legge ebraica e dai primi passi e controversie negli Atti degli Apostoli (spesso sia Pietro che Paolo sono citati nel corpo delle preghiere)[46]. Il *Barberini gr. 336* ha tramandato una preghiera di benedizione sull'acqua se nel pozzo o nella cisterna (λάκκος) vi sia caduto qualcosa di impuro, sia animale o altro, senza premettere alcuna rubrica[47]. Ad una ponderata lettura, si percepisce la stranezza compositiva del testo, come se fossero state unite, senza una logica mano redazionale, tre frammenti introdotti da ἐπίβλεψον, (δεόμεθά σου) ἐπίβλεψον ἐπὶ τὰ ὕδατα per arrivare a concludere ἵνα πάντες οἱ ἀρυόμενοι ἐξ αὐτοῦ εἴτε διὰ πόσεως εἴτε διὰ οἱασδήποτε χρήσεως ... abbiano (quest'acqua) per il benessere delle anime e dei corpi ... I posteriori eucologi patriarcali, il *Coislin* e il *Bessarione*, offrono una differente preghiera introdotta da una breve rubrica che sottolinea: anzitutto bisogna tirare quaranta secchi d'acqua e versali, presumibilmente a terra; dipoi il sacerdote versa l'acqua delle sante Teofanie a forma di croce per tre volte; accende poi i ceri e incensa d'attorno e poi prega[48]. Vien da pensare, tuttavia, almeno come ipotesi di lavoro, che la versione riportata dai *Sinaitici gr.* 958 e 959 sembra sfuggire all'acqua delle sante

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[46] De Meester, *Rituale-Benedizionale* 256-258. Si noti tuttavia che questa mentalità era presente nel passato *Rituale Romanum* (cf. *benedictio fontis, putei* e l'*Ordo ad faciendam aquam benedictam*); più legata alla teologia del battesimo, invece, l'edizione dei testi dopo la riforma del *Rituale*.

[47] *L'eucologio Barberini*, n. 238.

[48] Arranz, *L'eucologio costantinopolitano* 385; Goar, *Εὐχολόγιον*, 480 ha diverse varianti. Le azioni del sacerdote sono leggermente cambiante nella rubrica del *Sin. Gr.* 962 (XI-XII sec.). Il sacerdote tira prima i quaranta secchi d'acqua dal pozzo, incensa e dice la preghiera; dopo versa l'acqua delle sante Teofanie a forma di croce nel pozzo, assaggia l'acqua e dopo di lui beve così anche il popolo (Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* II, 71). Il *Sin. gr. 982* (XIII sec.) aggiunge, oltre al pozzo e alla cisterna, anche "in un altro vaso". Molto realisticamente il ms informa che prima di tirare i secchi d'acqua, bisogna gettare fuori la cosa impura (Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* II, 241). Questo vaso (σκεῦος), ad esempio, era un pentolone nel quale cadde una lucertola verde (χλωροσαῦρα), velenosa, quando Teodoro di Sykeon pranzava nel monastero di S. Cristoforo. La soluzione del Santo, avendo tutti mangiati i legumi contaminati, fu di prendere un bicchiere d'acqua, poi benedisse questa e la diede da bere a tutti: *Vie de Théodore de Sykeôn*, ed. A.-J. Festugière, Bruxelles 1970, I, cap. 124.

Teofanie, pur conoscendone l'uso per quanto riguarda recipienti impuri di vino o di olio (o altri, come nel *Sin. gr. 959*)[49]. In questo contesto mi preme aggiungere un singolare manoscritto: il sinaitico MG 53, datato al IX secolo[50]. Esso conserva una preghiera: εὐχὴ ἀκαθάρτου ἐμπεσόντος εἰς λάκκον, senza rubrica, avente un testo breve ed estremamente lineare. Dopo una breve sezione celebrativa, esso segue: αὐτὸς Δέσποτα ... ἔφιδε οὐρανόθεν ἐπὶ τὰ ὕδατα ταῦτα καὶ ἁγίασα αὐτὰ τῷ παναγίῳ σου Πνεύματι καὶ ποίησον αὐτὰ εἰς ἴασιν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος καὶ πνεύματος e dossologia finale. Dal contesto non si intravede la natura del λάκκος (cisterna? o pozzo come in agiografia?) e non parla di purificazione, quanto di guarigione per l'anima, il corpo e per lo spirito[51]. Di fatto, comunque, lo stesso manoscritto conosce l'uso del versare l'acqua delle Teofanie nel caso che una impurità sia caduta nel vino, come si evince dalla *taxis* che segue (τάξις γινομένη εἰ συμβῇ πεσεῖν προσφάτως μιαρόν τι εἰς οἶνον, f. 60v).

Questi eucologi sinaitici evidenziano che prima della canonizzazione negli eucologi costantinopolitani medievali non v'era il ricorso all'acqua delle Teofanie per la purificazione di una impurità caduta in un pozzo o, probabilmente, in una cisterna. Si aggiunga che forse è dovuto all'importanza dell'acqua e della sua conservazione in territori desertificati o di non facile reperimento d'acqua che gli eucologi del sud siano stati i primi a foggiare delle preghiere per questa vitale esigenza.

La data di creazione per questa preghiera sull'acqua di un pozzo necessita, tuttavia, di una breve riflessione sulla benedizione dell'acqua delle sante Teofanie. Al dire di Giacomo d'Edessa, all'origine il rito della benedizione dell'acqua comportava una sola preghiera[52] e solo più tardi venne

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[49] Rispettivamente in Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* II, 34 e 48. Sono questi mss sfuggiti alla bizantinizzazione riscontrabile nei due eucologi patriarcali?

[50] Ch. Kanavas, *L'eucologio MG 53 (sec. IX) del Monastero di Santa Caterina del Sinai*, Diss. ad Doctoratum presso il Pontificio Istituto Orientale, Roma 2013, n. 51.1 (p. 351-352).

[51] Molto originale questa tripartizione per la guarigione (ἴασις appare anche nel *Bodleianus*, nella preghiera sulla fonte d'acqua) da me, tuttavia, non incontrata ancora nelle altre preghiere riportate dai mss a proposito. Anima, corpo e spirito, ma per la loro purificazione, si riscontra nel rito copto della benedizione delle acque delle sante Teofanie: "... In order that, for all who shall draw out from it or partake of it, it may be for them a purification of the soul, body and spirit." Cf. O. H. E. Khs-Burmester, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church. A detailed description of the liturgical sources and the Rites and cerimonies ...*, Le Caire 1967, 255; John, Marquess of Bute and E. A. W. Budge, *The Blessing of the Waters on the Eve of Epiphany*, 132.

[52] Questa affermazione potrebbe esser sostenuta da quanto riportato da Theodorus Anagnostes: *Kirchengeschichte*, ed. G. Ch. Hansen, Berlin 1971, $155^{18\text{-}19}$: "(Pietro Mongo)... τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων ἐν τοῖς θεοφανίοις ἐπίκλησιν ἐν τῇ ἑσπέρᾳ γίνεσθαι". Certamente la cerimonia doveva esser molto più semplice al tempo di Crisostomo, il quale la ricorda ad Antiochia il 6 gennaio 387: a mezzanotte, tutti prendono l'acqua (ὑδρευσάμενοι), la portano a casa e la conservano per tutto l'anno, giacché oggi le acque sono santificate (*Hom. de Baptismo Christi*, PG 49, 366).

aggiunto Μέγας εἶ Κύριε[53]. Con certezza sappiamo che questa benedizione era utilizzata a Costantinopoli, giacché ne parla il patriarca Giovanni, e certamente in Galazia[54], pur se non sappiamo esattamente in quale versione. Una presenza all'inizio del rito della benedizione delle acque delle Teofanie è il canto del tropario: Φωνὴ τοῦ Κυρίου ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων (Ps 28,3). Se esso è omesso negli eucologi patriarcali su citati, appare invece cantato nel *Typikon di Santa Sofia*, nel *Γβ* VII, nei codici collazionati da Trempelas[55], come anche nella *Oratio synodalis* di Giovanni d'Ozdun del 718. Quest'ultimo testo ci informa che:

> Verum quod ego dico, id antiqua, erat consuetudo[56] jam ab antiquis temporibus originem ducens, atque ad nos usque perveniens. Eo namque die super aquas decandando Psalmum XXIII premissa antiphona, *Vox Domini super aquas*, atque Matthei de Baptismo Evangelium legendo, aquam benedicebant, oleo[57] in eam infuso ...[58].

Giacomo di Edessa insisteva nel dire come questa cerimonia concerne la benedizione dell'acqua, e non la sua consacrazione; i due termini denotano una radicale differenza sulla natura dei riti e similmente è da intendere il senso di "epiclesi", ben diverso per l'acqua delle Teofanie e per quella del battesimo. Pur vero che tutta la teologia sottostante alle Teofanie si fonda

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[53] In *Les canons et les résolutions canoniques de Rabboula ...*, ed. F. Nau, Paris 1906, 93 (can. 93). Un altra versione leggermente differente è offerta in: *Pontificale iuxta ritum Ecclesiae Syrorum occidentalium*, III, 358-359.

[54] *Penitentiale*, PG 88, 1913; interessante la sequenza in *Vie de Théodore de Sykeôn* ca. 16[11-21] ("nella notte delle Teofanie, si riunirono dei chierici e dei laici; discendendo con essi dal *martyrion* [di S. Giorgio, dove il Santo s'era stabilito] sulla sponda dell'acqua [il fiume che passava di lì], egli solo, scendendo nell'acqua vi rimase ...").

[55] Mateos, *Le Typikon* I, 182; Passarelli, *L'eucologio cryptense* Γ.β. VII, n. 154.3; P. N. Trempelas, *Μικρὸν Εὐχολόγιον*, II, Athênai 1955, 18.

[56] Si tratta di una "consuetudo", una tradizione assunta dagli armeni e probabilmente proveniente da Gerusalemme e trasmessaci dal lezionario georgiano: M. Tarchnischvili, *Le Grand Lectionnaire de l'Église de Jérusalem (V[e]-VIII[e] siècle)*, CSCO 188, Iberici 9, Louvain 1959, n. 86.

[57] La presenza dell'olio, misto all'acqua, aprirebbe una parentesi troppo lunga per poter investigare il senso di χρίω applicato all'acqua (cf. nota 33). A mò di completezza di un fenomeno, vari sono i casi in cui acqua ed olio coesistono in un rito di guarigione. Teodoreto di Ciro, ad esempio, riporta il caso di Aphraat che guarisce un cavallo dell'imperatore che soffriva di ritenzione (ἔκκρισις). L'asceta, pregando Dio, fa tirare acqua dal pozzo, la benedice col segno della croce e la fa bere al cavallo; di poi, benedice l'olio con un'epiclesi ed unge (ἐπιχρίει) il ventre del cavallo che subito evacua: *Histoire des moines de Syrie*, ed. P. Canivet et A. Leroy-Molinghen, SC 234, Paris 1977, I, 396. Credo che sia lento lo sviluppo di un rito che spesso si differenzia nelle diverse culture territoriali prima di arrivare ad una formulazione rituale trasferibile in un eucologio.

[58] *Domini Johannis Ozniensis ... Opera*, ed. J.B. Aucher, Venetiis 1834, 33; il rito appare sempre nei Canoni del Katholikos: *ib.* p. 73, can. 26; il testo è reperibile anche in F. C. Conybeare, *Rituale Armenorum*, Oxford 1905, 181-182.

sulla salvezza apportata da Gesù Cristo all'intera umanità, ma allo stesso tempo è un orizzonte salvifico che tocca la natura dell'acqua, cambiata radicalmente con la discesa di Cristo nel Giordano. L'acqua è così divenuta pulita, potabile, pura diremmo, perché la discesa divina in essa ha rotto l'impero del drago maligno, quella forza diabolica che la sottometteva rendendola pericolosa per tutti i viventi. L'acqua del Giordano, santificata, è divenuto il prototipo dell'acqua che ora porta vita agli uomini, agli animali, alla terra. E ciò nonostante, pur essendoci stato il battesimo nel Giordano e l'acqua fa parte di una nuova creazione, l'immaginario bizantino — e qui attiene a tutto l'impero, anche all'area occidentale — persiste nella paura dell'impuro e del diabolico.

Volgendo lo sguardo ai dati archeologici, sostenuti dalle iscrizioni, si resta a dir poco sorpresi della presenza del nostro tropario (Φωνὴ τοῦ Κυρίου ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων) all'interno di cisterne ed inciso su molti *instrumenta liturgica* legati culturalmente all'acqua[59]. Dei tanti casi, ne vediamo solo qualcuno.

La cisterna a Salamina di Cipro è ben conosciuta. Grazie a dei pastori che la scoprirono nel 1933, da allora essa è stata fatta oggetto di studio[60]. A parte gli affreschi, con busto di Cristo in un tondo, sembrano interessanti per il nostro intento qualche iscrizione. La prima riporta il Ps 28,3 (+ Φωνὴ Κυρίου ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων + Κύριος ἐπ' ὑδά(των) πολλῶν), cui bisogna aggiungere: Ἐλισσαίου φων(ή) + Τάδε λέγ(ε)ι Κ(ύριο)ς + Ἴαμαι τὰ ὕδατα ταῦτα[61]. E poi si noti ancora il desinit della iscrizione 1, ben resa come: ὁ θεὸς μεθ' ἡμῶν[62]. Questi requisiti scritturistici e segnici ritornano nella cisterna di "Sant'Elena dei Latini" a Gerusalemme. Un medaglione con doppia banda

[59] Si ascriva al lavoro epigrafico, sostenuto anche da quello archeologico, di L. Di Segni, Expressions of prayer in late antique inscriptions in the provinces of Palestina and Arabia, in *Prayer and Worship in Eastern Christianity, 5th to 10th centuries*, ed. by B. Bitton-Ashkelony and D. Krueger, London – New York 2017, 71 e 80.

[60] J. Du Plat Taylor, "A water cistern with Byzantine Paintings, Salamis, Cyprus", *The Antiquaries Journal* 13/2 (1933), 97-108 e fig. 2 (le cisterne sono di riuso); M. A. Sacopoulo, "La fresque chrétienne la plus ancienne de Chypre", *Cahiers Archéologiques* 13 (1963), 61-83 che, fra l'altro, ha rilevato la connessione liturgica per la presenza del tropario. La data accordata, che condivido, è il VI sec.

[61] Sacopoulo, "La fresque chrétienne", 66 (iscr. 3) e 68 (iscr. 5). Ambo queste citazioni scritturistiche sono presenti nel Rituale armeno (Conybeare, *Rituale Armenorum* 165 e 176 [nella preghiera Μέγας εἶ Κύριε]); solo il testo relativo ad Eliseo appare nel Barberini e sempre in una preghiera: *L'Eucologio Barberini* n. 131 e 133.

[62] Sacopoulo, "La fresque chrétienne", 62. Se l'iscrizione n. 2 nomina Nicodemo come il donatore del ciclo affrescato nelle cisterne — queste erano fra esse collegate da un passaggio — la iscrizione n. 4 invoca due ben noti ciprioti, l'apostolo Barnaba ("nostro protettore") e il vescovo Epifanio ("nostro grande difensore"). La iscr. n. 6 invoca l'aiuto di Costantino imperatore e della sua croce (segno); l'iscrizione s'apre e si chiude con una croce e al centro dello scritto è disposta un'altra croce, più grande, con A e ω. Sacopoulo (pp. 69-70) a ragione vede

di chiusura circolare contiene una croce la cui asta orizzontale, sotto e sopra, impagina il Ps 28,3[63]. La croce diventa in assoluto il simbolo di forza contro le avversità che possono inquinare la salubrità dell'acqua. Essa appare affrescata ben due volte nella grande cisterna a Üçagız (Tristomon in Licia, foto 6), assieme al nome 'Εμμανουήλ, chiamato in traduzione ("Dio con noi") dall'iscrizione n. 1 a Salamina[64]. Croci tappezzano i muri delle cisterne, spesso da sole o accompagnando il nome di colui che ha sostenuto il lavoro sulla cisterna[65]. Un ultimo caso è degno d'esser riportato. Il criptoportico dell'agorà di Salonicco, verso la fine del VI secolo, venne trasformato in cisterna d'acqua potabile. L'ambiente dove l'acqua veniva attinta venne decorata con affreschi, probabilmente i Santi Anargiri accompagnati da una iscrizione[66]. Secondo la ricostruzione di Bakirtzis, a parte i Santi Anargiri che affiancano una croce, v'è nel registro inferiore Cristo seduto in trono affiancato da due angeli; gli Anargiri pregano per la χάριν τῶν ὑδάτων. Sulla parete attigua v'era la seguente iscrizione: 'Εμμανου(ήλ) ὁ Θεὸς (μ[εθ' ἡ]ῶν), in rosso e le due linee introdotte da croci[67]. Ritorna Emmanuel, ma questa volta accompagnato non solo dalla croce, ma da un intero apparato figurativo a difesa dell'acqua. Se da un lato è fuori dubbio la valenza apo-

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il busto di Cristo e la croce di Costantino come i punti focali per l'azione protettiva contro gli attacchi dei nemici invisibili.

[63] *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae* I, 2, n. 789 (L. Di Segni), probabilmente del 616-626; sempre a Gerusalemme, in una cisterna sul monte Sion, una croce che racchiude nei campi delle aste IC XS / A ω datata da Di Segni al 7-8 sec. Cf. anche nn. 827, 829 (quest'ultima con il Ps 28,3). Certamente non attiene ad un battistero la lastra di Cesarea: *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae* II, n. 1174 (W. Ameling).

[64] V. Ruggieri, "'Εμμανουήλ: variazioni semantiche", *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 45 (2003), 298-301. Le croci campeggiano nelle cisterne monastiche: H. Goldfus, "Khallat ed-Dauabîya: a desert monastery", in *Christian Archaeology in the Holy Land. New Discoveries*, ed. by G. C. Bottini, L. Di Segni, E. Alliata, Jerusalem 1990, 229-231 (interessantissimo in questo monastero la modalità per la captazione dell'acqua).

[65] Qualche esempio: Un certo Patrikios allestisce sulla cittadella di Afyon delle cisterne che alimentano una fontana (foto 7); ciascun dispositivo è marcato da croci e una iscrizione: *Phrygien und Pisidien*, ed. K. Belke und N. Mersich, "Tabula Imperii Byzantinii 7", s.v. "Akroinos"; per la descrizione, cf. S. Eyice, "La fontaine et les citernes byzantines de la cittadelle d'Afyon Karahisar", *DOP* 27 (1973), 306-307.

[66] I lavori archeologici furono effettuati nel 1965-6, seguiti da un rapporto: A. Ξυγγόπουλος, "'Η παλαιοχριστιανικὴ τοιχογραφία τῆς ρωμαϊκῆς Θεσσαλονίκης", *Byzantina* 9 (1977), 409-416 identifica l'affresco senza notare l'iscrizione sulla parete opposta; la stessa iscrizione non viene citata da K. Bowes, "Christians in the amphitheater? The 'Christianization' of the spectacle buildings and martorial memory", *MEFRA Moyen Âge* 126/1 (2014), 93-114. Una più completa presentazione è offerta da Ch. Bakirtzis, "'Η ἀγορὰ τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης στὰ παλαιοχριστιανικὰ χρόνια", *Actes du Xe Congrès International d'Archéologie Chrétienne*, Città del Vaticano 1984, II, 5-18.

[67] Bakirtzis, "'Η ἀγορὰ τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης", 15-17.

tropaica del Ps 28,3 come degli apparati epigrafici e decorativi, dall'altra è ben accertato l'uso del tropario per la salvaguardia dell'acqua.

Se il tropario viene utilizzato per la salvaguardia dalle impurità delle cisterna implica, a mio avviso, considerando il tenore della(e) preghiera(e) sulla purificazione di un pozzo o di una cisterna che esso apparteneva già ad un rito più solenne, quello della benedizione delle acqua delle Teofanie. In Palestina e a Cipro si hanno testimonianze del tropario all'interno delle cisterne, ed in Asia Minore e in Grecia si trovano pozzi e cisterne con croci ed invocazioni, senza parlare dei vari *instrumenta liturgica*, molti dei quali di probabile provenienza costantinopolitana e datati al VI secolo[68]. I dati archeologici ed epigrafici relativi alla benedizione dell'acqua — con la presenza del Ps 28,3 — convergono unanimemente nel segnalare il VI secolo come il periodo entro cui i dispositivi idrici ed oggetti liturgici ad essi relazionati sono ampiamente segnati con iscrizioni e utilizzati. Questa connessione attesta che in quest'arco cronologico si era già ben stabilito la prassi della benedizione delle acque ed essa, pur avendo una formulazione testuale non del tutto unanime nei suoi componenti, era la fonte teologica e una miniera di immagini testuali che vanno a foggiare la più precipua, immediata preghiera relativa alla scavo di un pozzo e alla sua — e della cisterna — purificazione. Non v'è dubbio che la solenne benedizione delle Teofanie sia alla base delle preghiere da noi considerate in queste pagine, e la teologia battesimale, che innerva l'acqua delle Teofanie lasciando anche tracce testuali come s'è visto, si spande anche nelle più ordinarie, umili preghiere per il pozzo e la cisterna.

Per riassumere l'evoluzione liturgica, e senza entrare nel vivo della redazione specifica a ciascun rito, si può ritenere che la benedizione delle Teofanie sia di origine gerosolimitana. Al 440 ca., tempo di chiusura del lezionario armeno di Gerusalemme, non v'è menzione di questa benedizione; soltanto verso la fine del V secolo, il lezionario di Gerusalemme, nella sua versione georgiana, annette alla nascita di Cristo del 25 dicembre la festa del suo Battesimo[69] testimoniando così la presenza del tropario "Vox Domini super aquas ..." che introduce le letture bibliche prima della bene-

[68] Cf. Felle, *Biblia epigraphica*, nn. 514, 519, 546, 557, 558, 565, 787, 788, 789; a volte il tropario precede: ἀντλήσατε ὕδωρ μετὰ εὐφροσύνης. A Prymnesson in Frigia si trovò un grande blocco calcareo con una larga cavità al centro, scavata appositamente (lunga 74 e larga 37 cm): *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua* IV, ed. by W. H. Buckler, W. M. Calder, W. K. C. Guthrie, Manchester 1933, n. 41, ritenuta un'acquasantiera databile al IV-V sec. (anche in Felle, *Biblia epigraphica* n. 494) e recante il Ps 28,3. La data mi sembra molto alta e le lettere possono ben essere del V-inizi VI sec.

[69] A. Renoux, "L'Épiphanie à Jérusalem au IVe et au Ve siècle d'après le Lectionnaire arménien de Jérusalem", *REArm* n.s. 2 (1965), 358-9; Tarchnischvili, *Le Grand Lectionnaire de l'Église de Jérusalem*, nn. 86-95.

dizione. A questa prassi, vien da pensare, si riferisca la *Oratio Synodalis* di Giovanni di Ozun nella descrizione che egli fa della cerimonia, lasciando ad altra sede la prassi armena dell'infusione dell'olio nell'acqua.

Sia le fonti liturgiche che quelle archeologiche riportano ragionevolmente la creazione delle preghiere relative al pozzo e alla cisterna certamente al VI secolo, forse incipiente, preghiere derivanti dalla complessa e più lunga struttura della benedizione delle acque delle Teofanie. A questi dati, inoltre, si aggiungono le fonti agiografiche che conoscono la benedizione della fonte; quella di Nicola di Sion si colloca certamente nella prima metà del VI secolo. Quanto a mio avviso merita d'esser considerato è il luogo d'origine di queste preghiere. Se la prassi agiopolita del battesimo ha strutturato l'ossatura teologica delle preghiere, credo che l'impellente esigenza ed importanza vitale dell'acqua nella geografia palestinese abbia concorso anch'essa in modo urgente. Come i lavori archeologici hanno pienamente mostrato, pozzi e cisterne puntellavano da molto tempo prima i territori aridi e impervi delle contrade meridionali (foto 8), soprattutto quei territori non urbani, e la accresciuta teologia sull'acqua ha inglobato, sacralizzandola, questa esigenza primaria per l'esistenza di uomini e di animali. Nel fare ciò, tuttavia, questa teologia ha pennellato anche l'esigenza apotropaica su quell'acqua che proprio nel Giordano era stata resa pura dalla discesa di Cristo. Per quest'ultima connotazione non sarei sorpreso se la forza onnipresente del monachesimo palestinese non si possa ritenere all'origine della redazione di queste preghiere.

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Summary

Water was, and still is, an essential element for life on earth, and this stands true both for mankind and animals. Quite early in their history, the Byzantines realized the importance of water for life, mainly in the countryside, where aqueducts did not reach the extremities of remote villages and monasteries. By considering the many prayers dedicated to wells and cisterns, the author has chosen some interesting and ancient texts concerning a new well and the purification of a cistern. Through an interdisciplinary approach of liturgy, which incorporates the "book of prayers" (Euchologion), archaeology, hagiography and epigraphy, we may apprehend this widespread rite of the benediction of water of the Theophanies as the backbone of all subsequent prayers used for blessing water. The provenance of these prayers is traceable to Palestine, and if the waters of the Theophanies were blessed in Jerusalem, the need for new prayers for a well and a cistern may be quite reasonably explained by the arid, desert land of Palestine and Syria, which later spread to Asia Minor.



Fig 1. Un pozzo a Dohaïn (Dotan, Israele) (J. Mateos, 1958).



Fig 2. Cambazlı (Isauria), cisterna a nord-ovest della chiesa.



Fig 3. Korykos, necropoli (Isauria), cisterna a sud della chiesa.



Fig 4. Balıklır (Mar di Marmara), pozzo nel villaggio (1982).



Fig 5. Taşlıca (Caria), un pozzo nel villaggio.



Fig 6. Üçağız (Licia), una cisterna.



Fig 7. Afyon (Frigia), le cisterne bizantine.



Fig 8. Una fonte a Fadiliyya, presso Khorsabad (Iraq, J. Mateos 1958).

Alexandra Nikiforova – Tinatin Chronz

The *Codex Sinaiticus Liturgicus* Revisited: A New Edition and Critical Assessment of the Text[1]

Introduction

The study of the *Codex Sinaiticus Liturgicus (RNB gr. 44,*[2] fig. 1, 2, 4, 5), began when the German biblical scholar Constantin Tischendorf (1815-1874), professor at the University of Leipzig,[3] brought this uncial fragment from Sinai[4] and sold it to the Imperial Public Library (today, the Russian National Library) in Saint Petersburg.[5] After the first edition was prepared by Jean-Baptiste Thibaut at the beginning of the 20th century,[6] the codex had sunk into oblivion and after more than fifty years turned up as the focus of liturgical discussions.[7] Characterized by J.-B. Thibaut as "livre

[1] This article was written as a part of the research project, "Triduum Sacrum in the first millenium in Jerusalem," carried out by Alexandra Nikiforova at the Seminar for Liturgical Studies in Bonn University (2015-2016) and financed by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation. Particular thanks are due to Father Ugo Zanetti (Chevetogne), who read, typed and translated all Arabic inscriptions in *RNB gr. 44*. Also we wish to sincerely thank our Professor Heinzgerd Brakmann and Daniel Galadza for their insightful feedback, the librarian of St. Catherine's monastery Father Justin, and our proofreaders Gregory Tucker and Mark Roosien. A preliminary study of *RNB gr. 44* has been published in Russian: A. Nikiforova, "Codex Sinaiticus Liturgicus: К истории и типологии кодекса," *Indo-European Linguistics And Classical Philology* XX/2 (Saint Petersburg 2016) 776-802.

[2] *RNB gr. 44* = Российская Национальная Библиотека, Греческая коллекция, N° 44 (Russian National Library, Greek collection, N° 44).

[3] K.-G. Wesseling, "Tischendorf," *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, 12 (Herzberg 1997) 167-181.

[4] Between 1840 and 1859 Tischendorf travelled through the Christian East, collecting Greek and Oriental manuscripts of the Bible. He sold them to different libraries in Europe and the Russian Empire. In 1858 the Imperial Public Library bought 41 ancient manuscripts (5th-9th c.), acquired during his first two expeditions — among them was the codex considered in this paper. See T. Romanova, "Константин Тишендорф и синайские рукописи его коллекции," *Синайский кодекс и памятники древней христианской письменности* (Saint Petersburg 2012) 213-215.

[5] K. Tischendorf, *Notitia editionis codicis bibliorum sinaitici auspiciis imperatoris Alexandri II susceptae* (Lipsiae 1860) 54.

[6] J.-B. Thibaut, *Monuments de la Notation Ekphonétique et Hagiopolite de l'Église Grecque* (Saint-Pétersbourg 1913) 17-30 + documents 1-11.

[7] H. Leeb, *Die Gesänge im Gemeindegottesdienst von Jerusalem vom 5. bis 8. Jahrhundert* (= WBTh 28, Wien 1970) 42, 54, 116, 118; R. Taft, *The Great Entrance. A History of the Transfer of Gifts and other Preanaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* (= OCA 200, Rome

unique" and "incomparable,"[8] it has retained this reputation until today. The codex contains the only complete collection known in Greek of common services, i.e. common liturgical texts for different groups of saints and for a series of Sundays, with Epistle and Gospel readings, responsorial chants, exclamations of the deacon / priest, and hymns for the choir. Due to its extraordinary content, scholars have defined the codex differently as a "Lectionary of the New Testament" (C. Tischendorf), "liturgical enchiridion" (J.-B. Thibaut), and a "liturgical compendium" (I. Lebedeva).[9] Today, when many new documents witness to the Hagiopolite liturgy and its spread throughout the Near East after they were discovered in 1975 at the Monastery of St. Catherine on Sinai,[10] we suggest a revision of the understanding of *RNB gr. 44*. According to Gabriel Radle: "while Sinai was a part of the Church of Jerusalem, it also represented a meeting ground of various liturgical traditions: not only did Hagiopolite and Constantinopolitan traditions encounter each other on Sinai, but also other traditions, such as those from Syria, Egypt, and even the West."[11] The subject of this article is the matter of which traditions spawned *Codex Sinaiticus Liturgicus* and what kind of child of these traditions it is. We provide a new edition of the text, and compare it with the data from Greek and Georgian Hagiopolite sources, speculating about the original state of this enigmatic codex and its relation to the Lectionary of Jerusalem.[12]

1975) 73-74, 97-8, 100-101; Ch. Troelsgård, "The use of single psalms-verses for prokeimena and alleluiaria in the uncial Codex Sinaiticus Liturgicus," *Musica Antiqua Europae Orientalis X, Acta musicologica* 1 (Bydgoszcz 1994) 129-138; S. Verhelst, *La liturgie de Jérusalem à l'époque byzantine. Genèse et structures de l'année liturgique*, PhD thesis, The Hebrew University (Jerusalem 2000) et alii.

[8] Thibaut, *Monuments de la Notation* 18.

[9] Tischendorf, *Notitia editionis* 54; Thibaut, *Monuments de la Notation* 17; I. Lebedeva, *Каталог греческих рукописей Российской Национальной библиотеки* (Saint-Petersburg 2014). On-line: https://vivaldi.nlr.ru/bx000007814/view#page=2, 75.

[10] Archbishop Damianos, P. Nikolopoulos, B. Peltikoglou, A. Sophronios, *The New Finds of Sinai* (Holy Monastery and Archdiocese of Sinai, Athens 1999); P. Géhin – S. Frøyshov, "Nouvelles découvertes sinaïtiques: à propos de la parution de l'inventaire des manuscrits grecs," REB 58 (2000) 167-182.

[11] G. Radle, "Uncovering the Alexandrian Greek Rite of Marriage: Sinai NF/MG 67 (9th/10th c.)," *Ecclesia Orans* 38 (2011) 49-73, esp. 67.

[12] S. Janeras, "Les lectionnaires de l'ancienne liturgie de Jérusalem," *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 2 (2005) 71-92; R. Zerfass, *Die Schriftlesung im Kathedraloffizium Jerusalems* (Münster, Westfalen 1968); S. Verhelst, *Le lectionnaire de Jérusalem. Ses traditions judéo-chrétiennes et son histoire suivant l'index des péricopes évangeliques, conclu par le sanctoral du Sin. géo. 58 novus* (= Spicilegii Friburgensis Subsidia 24, Freiburg 2012); D. Galadza, "The Jerusalem Lectionary and the Byzantine Rite," *Rites and Rituals of the Christian East. Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of the Society of Oriental Liturgy, Lebanon, 10-15 July 2012*, ed. B. Groen, D. Galadza, N. Glibetic, and G. Radle (= Eastern Christian Studies 22, Leuven: Peeters 2014) 181-199; Idem, *Worship of the Holy City in Captivity. The Liturgical Byzantini-*

1. *Codex*

a. Codicological description

The codex is written on parchment, except for folia 46 and 47, which are written on paper, probably of Arabic origin from 8th-9th centuries.[13] The average size of a folio can be measured as 19.5 × 14. 5 cm. The number of lines per page varies, ranging between 14 and 18 written in a single column.[14] There are no lines in the codex. The system of diacritic is rather elaborate, but the use of the signs is often irregular (μονογενὴς, fol. 48r, but μονογενης[15], fol. 60r) and incorrect (παραδοξὸς, fol. 41r, instead of παραδόξως, φοβῶ, fol. 62v, instead of φόβῳ). The use of accents as ekphonetic / music signs in the addition to diacritic adds a further complication. Examples of rough and smooth breathing marks being mixed up (ἑδέξατο, fol. 68r, instead of ἐδέξατο, ἥμῶν, fol. 38v, instead of ἡμῶν, ἁμαρτίαν and ἁμαρτίαν, fol. 49v), acute, grave and circumflex accents being confused (σώμα, fol. 40v, instead of σῶμα, φωνὴ, fol. 38, instead of φωνῇ, χαίρε, fol. 5v, instead of χαῖρε), and marks put above the first letter of diphthongs (ἀυτόυ, fol. 39v, instead of αὐτοῦ) are numerous.

According to the recent study of Maria Alexandrou, *RNB gr. 44* contains two types of musical notation.[16] The first one is an ordinary and sparse notation used in the Gospel and Epistle readings, which utilizes acute, grave and circumflex accents (e.g., fol. 54r, 64r, fig. 1). In contrast to the Byzantine prosodic system, which calls for one accent for one word (except words with enclytics such as ἄγγελός τις), it sets two or even three accents for one word simultaneously (e.g., μεγάλὴν, fol. 54r). John Papathanasiou noticed this peculiarity in his study of the fragments of the Heirmologion from the archive of Dm. Kapadochos, held at the Department of Musical Studies at the University of Athens (12th c.). He described this type of notation as "Cypro-Palestinian" notation, owing to the probable origin of the fragments.[17] After a quite similar notation was found in *RNB gr. 44* and Sin. gr. NE/MΓ 37 (hymnographical canons, 9th-10th c.), M. Alexandrou tentatively suggested

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zation of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem After the Arab Conquest (8th-13th c.). Diss. ad doctoratum (Roma 2012) 249-289.

13 E. Granstrem, "Каталог греческих рукописей ленинградских хранилищ." Вып. 1: Рукописи IV-IX вв., *Византийский временник* 16 (1959) 233.

14 Lebedeva, *Каталог греческих рукописей* 75.

15 We have preserved the original way of writing here and further.

16 M. Alexandrou, *Παλαιογραφία Βυζαντινής Μουσικής. Επιστημονικές και καλλιτεχνικές αναζητήσεις* (Αθήνα: Ελληνικά Ακαδημαϊκά Ηλεκτρονικά Συγγράμματα και Βοηθήματα, in print). We are indebted to professor Maria Alexandrou for sending us a layout of her book.

17 I. Παπαθανασίου, N. Μπούκας, "Η βυζαντινή μουσική σημειογραφία και η χρήση της έως 10° αιώνα. Προφορική και γραπτή παράδοση του πρώιμου βυζαντινού μέλους," *Μουσικολογία* 17 (2003) 183-197, esp. 82.

to call this type — "Sinaitic notation." She pointed out, that these double and trifold accents already existed in the old Alexandrian prosodic system, which could be a root for the signs in these manuscripts.

The second type of notation in *RNB gr. 44* can be seen in some prokeimena and alleluias. It could be a regional (Egyptian?) interpretation of the "diple notation" (the term of J. Raasted, fig. 1).[18] This type is more complicated and dense, utilizing the diple, triple, and even more character strokes. It is similar to the "Hermoupolis notation" (the term of I. Papathanasiou and N. Bouka, e.g., fol. 37r, 43r, 53v, 61r, 63v-64r), but with more grave signs, up to seven above one syllable. The "Hermoupolis notation" was named after the settlement to the south of Oxyrhynchus, near the Nile River, where five fragments of Greek liturgical manuscripts with music signs from the 7th-9th centuries were found and transferred to the John Ryland Library in Manchester.[19] J.-B. Thibaut was the first to note that the diple and triple signs in *RNB gr. 44* were close to the symbols in the Ms. Ryl. copt. 25 (the Greek hymn "In thee rejoiceth," attributed to John of Damascus).[20] Thus, because of its resemblance to notation seen in earlier Coptic liturgical manuscripts, we can assume that this type of notation may have been commonly used in the 8th-9th centuries in Christian communities in Egypt, and probably more widely across the Near East.

The binding was added to the manuscript while it was in the possession of the Imperial Public Library.[21] The pagination was made in red pencil probably by the librarian Khrisanf Loparev, who marked on the inner side of the lower cover of the binding of the the codex: "В сей рукописи нумерованных листов шестьдесят девять (69). Хр. Лопарев, 17 июля 1872" ("There are sixty-nine (69) numbered folia in this manuscript. Chr. Loparev, 17 July, 1872").[22] Unfortunately he did not try to reorganize the codex by putting the false folia in their proper order, and therefore some folia are out of place and their numbers are incorrect. Thus, for example, the Gospel reading for the common liturgy for a feast of an Apostle begins on folio 17r-17v (Matt 10, 1-4) and continues on folio 26r-26v (Matt 10, 4-10). Folio 18r-18v features the end of the Gospel reading for the Dedication of the Church (Matt 16, 17-19), which began on folio 33r-33v.

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[18] Alexandrou, *Παλαιογραφία Βυζαντινής Μουσικής*; J. Raasted, *The Princeton Heirmologion Palimpsest* (= Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Âge Grec et Latin 62, 1992) 219-235.

[19] W. E. Crum, Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the Collection of the John Rylands Library (Manchester 1909), esp. 9-10 .

[20] Thibaut, *Monuments de la Notation* 17.

[21] Granstrem, "Каталог греческих рукописей" 233.

[22] Thibaut, *Monuments de la Notation* 17.

b. Writing and date

The manuscript has no colophon, which complicates the question of its dating — a question that can be very subjective in the case of uncial codices.[23] Elena Granstrem dated it to the 8th-9th centuries,[24] while J.-B. Thibaut and Irina Lebedeva to the 9th century.[25] The quite developed but irregular use of diacritics compels us to date the manuscript not earlier than mid-9th-century.[26] The main body of the codex is written with elongated sloping script, "Spitzbogenmajuskel,"[27] and the ink employed is of a black colour. The initials and some ornaments, primitive in style and execution, were drawn with ink and cinnabar. There are a few polychromic ornamental signatures, initials, and endings (fig. 2). The only paleographical parallel to this manuscript is another bifolio fragment of 9th century brought from Sinai to Saint-Petersburg by C. Tischendorf – *RNB gr. 31*,[28] which contains Lenten liturgical texts (fig. 3).

c. Rubrication

The beginning of the codex is lost. The whole list of rubrics for the liturgies preserved in the codex is as follows: for Martyrs (without beginning, fol. 1r-4r), for a Prophet (fol. 4r-5v), for Venerable ones[29] (fol. 5v-10v), for Hierarchs (fol. 10v-15r), for Apostles (fol. 15r-17v, 26r-27r), for Holy Women (fol. 27v-31r), for the Dedication of the Church (fol. 31v-33v, 18r-18v), on the First Sunday (fol. 19r-24v), on the Second Sunday (fol. 24v-25v, 34r-36v), on the Third Sunday (fol. 37r-41r), on the Fourth Sunday (fol. 41v-47v), on the Fifth Sunday (fol. 48r-52r), on the Sixth Sunday (fol. 52r-56r), on the Seventh Sunday (fol. 56v-60r), on the Eight Sunday (fol. 60r-63r), for an Archangel (fol. 63r-69r, and, interpolated through the text, Sunday

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23 "Die Datierung von Majuskelhandschriften unterliegt — wie bekannt — einer hohen Subjektivität." See D. Harlfinger, "Beispiele der Maiuscula ogivalis inclinata vom Sinai und aus Damaskus," *Alethes Philia. Studi in onore di Giancarlo Prato*, a cura di M. D'Agostino – P. Degni, 1 (Spoleto 2010) 464.

24 Granstrem, "Каталог греческих рукописей" 233.

25 Thibaut, *Monuments de la Notation* 18; Lebedeva, *Каталог греческих рукописей* 75.

26 According to Boris Fonkich, diacritical marks came into majuscule manuscripts from minuscules, where the system of diacritics was developed from the last third of the 8th until the mid 9th c. (see B. Fonkich, *Исследования по греческой палеографии и кодикологии, IV-XIX в.* (Moscow 2014) 25-26).

27 *Specimina Sinaitica: die datierten griechischen Handschriften des Katharinen-Klosters auf dem Berge Sinai: 9. bis 12. Jahrhundert*, ed. D. Harlfinger, D. R. Reinsch, J. A. M. Sonderkamp (Berlin 1983) 14.

28 Granstrem, "Каталог греческих рукописей" 231; Lebedeva, *Каталог греческих рукописей* 72.

29 The scribe used both singular (εἰς προφῆτα) and plural (εἰς ὁσίους) forms in the rubrics.

prokeimena for the second through eighth tones and photagogika for the first six tones (fol. 9r, 9v, 45v, 46, 47v).

d. Text and additions to it

The main body of the text is written in Greek with remarks in Arabic. In total there are ca. 50 Arabic inscriptions in the codex, which may be divided into two categories: 1) translations of the Greek rubrics or short glosses, and 2) additional information which has nothing to do with the Greek text.

Arabic remarks and marginalia are typical for Greek liturgical codices of this period from Sinai and the Near East.[30] This aspect of Palestinian / Sinaitic book production "presuppose bilingual readers" and must have been intended

> to meet the demands of Arab-Christians or Arabic speaking Egypto-Palestinians in a centre where this bilingualism or multilingualism was present. And although the monastery of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem had attracted Arabic speaking monks, the centre of production most likely was Sinai where the multilingual tradition was strong. Already before the arrival of the Arabs, we know that Sinai had recruits from various regions. Pseudo-Anthony of Piacenza who visited Sinai in 570 reports that there were three "abbots" who spoke Latin, Greek, Syriac, Egyptian or Coptic and even the language of the ancient Thracians.[31] With the coming of the Arabs, Arabic-speaking monks constituted a predominant element in the life of the monastery.[32]

This strong presence of Arabic-speaking Christians in the region is confirmed by about twenty-five early bilingual Greco-Arabic codices among the manuscripts, written probably in or for Sinai (e.g., bilingual Psalters: Sin. gr. 34, 9th c., Sin. gr. 35, 8th-9th c., Sin. gr. 36, ca. A.D. 800) and many manuscripts with Arabic inscriptions in the margins (e.g., 9th century Lectionaries Sin. gr. 211 and 212, Sin. gr. NE/MΓ 2, Euchologion Sin. gr. NE/MΓ 53, 8th-9th c., Tropologion Sin. gr. NE/MΓ 56+5, Psalter Sin. gr. 32, 8th c., "Horeb Lectionary" Sin. gr. 213, A.D. 967, "John Climacus Codex" Sin. gr.

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30 On the shift from Greek to Arabic in the Orthodox Church in Jerusalem, see K. Leeming, "The Adoption of Arabic as a Liturgical Language by the Palestinian Melkites," *ARAM* 15 (2003) 239-246; Galadza, *Worship of the Holy City* 99-101.

31 Ps. Anton. Piac. *Itin.* 37: "monasterium circumdatum muris munitis, in quo sunt tres abbates, scientes linguas, hoc est, latinas et graecas, syriacas et aegyptiacas et bessas, uel multi interpretes singularum linguarum." See *Itineraria et alia geographica*, ed. P. Geyer, O. Cuntz, A. Francheschini, R. Weber, L. Bieler, J. Fraipont, F. Glorie (= CCSL 175, Tournhout: Brepols publishers) 148.

32 G. Galavaris, "'Sinaitic Manuscripts' in the Time of the Arabs," *Δελτίον τῆς χριστιανικῆς ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἑταιρείας* 12 (1984) 117-144, esp. 120.

417, mid. 10th c., etc.).[33] Their production could have taken place in Palestine, on Sinai, or a nearby centre connected to Sinai, when the liturgy was still celebrated in Greek, but Arabic already the vernacular.

The first layer of *RNB gr. 44* includes the main text in Greek, with some Arabic remarks and glosses to it, made by the scribe of the codex simultaneously (fig. 2), as you can see in the bilingual rubric (fol. 19), opening the section with Sunday liturgies:[34]

> Κύριε εὐλόγησον, ἐν ὀνόματι Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, νῦν [καὶ ἀεί, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αιώνων. Ἀμήν].
> Lord, bless, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, now [and ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen].
> بسم الاب والابن وروح القدس اله واحد. نبدا بمعونه الله
> نكتب اناجيل وابسطلس وابسلموس والليلويا ليوم الاحد
> In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, One God. We begin with the help of the God to write the Gospel and Epistle readings and psalms and the alleluias for the Sundays.

Four Arabic remarks, made at different times in the 11th century belong to the second layer. They were written on blank folia of the codex, i.e. on the last one (fol. 69v) and one in the middle of the manuscript (fol. 46v, fig. 4). The texts inform us about the birth of Ḥassan Mūsā Ḥassan Ibrāhīm (A.D. 1011) and two decades later tell us about the birth of his three children – ʻAbd al-Masīḥ (A.D. 1034), Rūmī Ḥassan Mūsā (A.D. 1036), Rūmīya (A.D. 1039).[35] From the last inscription we learn that the 28-year-old Ḥassan Mūsā Ḥassan Ibrāhīm had already became a priest by the time his third child was born. In all the remarks one standard formula was used, only names and dates were changed:

> In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, One God. Ḥassan Mūsā Ḥassan Ibrāhīm was born on late Saturday night, into the holy Sunday morning, in the month of Amšīr, during the second week of the Holy Lent, in the year 401[of the Hegira = February 1011 A. D]. God made him a blessed and [Holy Spirit] inhabited child [=baptized] and created him as a good creation and the most blessed from the children and the most significant. He is blessed through the prayers of Our Lady and all the saints. YC ΘC [MT?] (fol. 69v).

It is worth pointing out that a Coptic wording was inserted twice in

33 K. Weitzmann, *Illustrated Manuscripts at St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai* (Collegeville, Minnesota, 1973); Galavaris, "Sinaitic Manuscripts" 117-144.

34 Thibaut, *Monuments de la Notation* 17.

35 The dates stated by the scribe according to Hegira were recalculated based on V. Grumel, *Traité d'études byzantines. I. La chronologie* (Paris 1958) 254-255.

these remarks, that is, "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, One God" (fol. 69v, 46v).

The last set of interpolations was done, according to E. Granstrem, in 13th-15th centuries.[36] These are the texts of Sunday prokeimena (for 1-6 tones)[37] and six photagogika for matins, placed in different parts of the codex (fig. 5) on empty parts of the folia (fol. 9r, 9v, 45v, 46r, 47v). The photagogika are arranged according to the daily commemorations of the Angels (Monday), John the Baptist (Tuesday), the Holy Cross (Wednesday), the Apostles and Theotokos (Thursday), and all the saints (Friday).

Thus, the whole story of the *RNB gr. 44* can be reconstructed as follows: it was written in the late 9th century in Greek, with some rubrics in Arabic. In the first half of the 11th century, four inscriptions in Arabic concerning the birth and baptism of four persons were added by the owners of the codex. In the 13th-15th centuries, the prokeimena and photagogika were appended, testifying that the codex was still in use.

e. Orthography

The codex is abound in typical and atypical mistakes.

Typical phonetic and grammar mistakes are as follows (in the examples we left the spelling found in the codex):[38]

1) iotacism: βασιλῆς instead of βασιλεῖς (fol. 4r), λεγη instead of λέγει (fol. 3v), μι instead of μή (fol. 4v), ρίμα instead of ρῆμα (fol. 4v), ποιμιν instead of ποιμήν (fol. 15r).
2) the substitution of ο and ω, υ and ου: εκτενος instead of ἐκτενῶς (fol. 3v, passim), πρότος instead of πρῶτος (fol. 15r), διακον instead of διάκων (fol. 3v), εσόθησα instead of ἐσώθησα (fol. 7v), τὸ Κυριω instead of τῷ Κυρίῳ (fol. 61r), πουρὸς instead of πυρὸς (fol. 1r), ὡς instead of οὔς (fol. 5v).
3) the mix of the diphthong αι and the vowel ε: ἀγαλλίασθαι instead of ἀγαλλιᾶσθε (fol. 2v), αθάναται Θεὲ instead of ἀθάνατε Θεέ (fol. 5v), ἐναισιν instead of αἴνεσιν (fol. 2v), καικόσμητε instead of κεκοσμειται (fol. 18v).
4) the irregural use of the ephelcystic -ν before a consonant: εν ιερευσιν κὰι μάρτυσιν instead of ἐν ἱερεῦσι καὶ μάρτυσι (fol. 14v).
5) the mix of Genetive / Accusative and Dative cases: ἐν ἀποστόλοὺς instead of ἐν ἀποστόλοις (fol. 5r), εἰς οσίοις instead of εἰς ὁσίους (fol. 5v).

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[36] Granstrem, "Каталог греческих рукописей" 233.

[37] Concerning prokeimena and alleluiaria Troelsgård concluded: "only three prokeimena can be identified among the little less than 50 Middle Byzantine prokeimena transmitted with notation in the Psaltikon, and for the alleluiaria the rate is 3 out of 59" (Troelsgård,"The use of single psalms-verses" 131).

[38] For different types of phonological mistakes, different confusions and visual errors see S. Torrales Tovar, K. A. Worp, *To the Origins of Greek Stenography* (Barcelona 2006) 35-45.

Atypical phonetic and grammar mistakes are:

1) phonetic: ἐν **ταῖς** προφήτης instead ἐν **τοῖς** προφήταις (fol. 5r).
2) rather regular confusing of Accusative and Genitive cases: εἰς ἅγι**ον** ἀρχάγγελ**ου** instead of εἰς ἅγι**ον** ἀρχάγγελ**ον** (fol. 63r), Accusative / Nominative: εἰς φ**ῶς** ἀτελεύτητ**ος** instead of εἰς φ**ῶς** ἀτελεύτητ**ον** (fol. 6r), οἱ πεποιθότες ἐπὶ Κύριο**ς** instead of οἱ πεποιθότες ἐπὶ Κύριο**ν** (fol. 34r).
3) incorrect case and verb endings: τῆς μεγαλωσύν**ι** instead of τῆς μεγαλωσύν**ης** (fol. 63r), θυγατέρες Ἰηρουσαλὴμ ἠγάπησ**α** τὸν νυμφίον instead of θυγατέρες Ἰηρουσαλὴμ ἠγάπησ**αν** τὸν νυμφίον (fol. 27v).

In some cases these mistakes complicate the meaning of the texts considerably:

RNB gr. 44, fol. 63r-63v	Our interpretation
Ἀρχάγγελε Μιχαὴλ, τοῦ θρόνου τῆς μεγαλωσύνι οὐδεποτε χορίζεῖ, αλλ' εκαστὸς ἀὲι παρίσταντὸ τοῖς ἐν τοῖς ὑψιστοῖς λητουργοὺς, τὴν οἰκόυμένι, ἐυλόγίτε, πάνταχοῦ δόξαζόμενὸς, ἀιτισε ϊλασμον, ταὶς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶ.	Ἀρχάγγελε Μιχαὴλ, τοῦ θρόνου τῆς μεγαλωσύνης οὐδέποτε χωρίζει, αλλ' ἑκάστους ἀεὶ παρίστας τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις λειτουργούς, τὴν οἰκουμένην εὐλόγει, καὶ πανταχοῦ δοξαζόμενος αἴτησον ἱλασμὸν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν.[39]

This suggests that the codex writer was not a native Greek speaker, as Thibaut believed, on account of the abundance of rude grammar mistakes, or the scribe was an illiterate Greek who had lived for a long time in the multilingual, Greek-Arabic, milieu.

2. *Text publication*

The first and only edition of the codex, prepared by J.-B. Thibaut and published in 1913,[40] remains essential. Inspite of its high value, the diplomatic character of the edition makes it difficult to use, due to the mistakes and large number of abbreviations in the codex. Also, there are some gaps and inaccuracies in Thibaut's transcription, such as overlooking the hymn for the transfer of the gifts on the Sixth Sunday and incorrect numbers for some readings. Thus, in the liturgy for Martyrs, J.-B. Thibaut indicated "Heb 9:34-37," while in reality the text to be read is "Heb 9:34-40" (fol. 2v-3v). The text "Ρῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῶν ἀναγκῶν" (fol. 4r) was interpreted by J.-B. Thibaut as "ΡΥΣΕ ΗΜΑΣ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΑΝΑΝΡΟ." The "Achilles' heel" of his edition are the Arabic inscriptions, which were practically not taken into ac-

[39] We thank Father Ugo Zanetti for his help in the deciphering of this troparion.

[40] Thibaut, *Monuments de la Notation* 17-30 + documents 1-11.

count, but kindly read, typed and translated for this study by Ugo Zanetti, to whom we are deeply grateful.

Since we are interested primarily in the liturgy and restricted by the length of a journal article, we edited liturgical and hymnographical texts in their entirety but provided only the incipits of the Gospel and Epistle readings. To make reading easier we have saved the confused foliation of the codex but organized all the texts in their proper order. Also, we have divided it into three blocks: #1. Original Greek and Arabic text of 9th century, #2 Arabic interpolations of 11th century, #3. Greek interpolations of 13th-15th centuries.

In square brackets we added chapter and verse numbers for the biblical readings,[41] the rubrics,[42] omitted by the scribe due to their common use, and the entirety of the hymnographical texts, which we were able to identify from the incipits given by the codex and found in other manuscripts and printed liturgical books.[43] We placed significant variant readings in the footnotes, as well as links to the hymnographical index of Enrica Follieri.[44] However some of the hymns remained unidentified.

We have tried to render the present edition of the codex in conformity with current standards used for the publication of medieval Greek liturgical texts.[45] The orthography has been normalized according to standard Greek, iotacisms, homophonies, grammar and syntax mistakes (e.g., ἠλέξασθε, fol. 4r → ἠλέγξασθε, διαφωτέραν, fol. 31r → δι' ἀμφωτέρων, γενάμενος, fol. 10r → γενόμενος etc.) have been corrected. "Nomina sacra" (Θ(εό)ς→ Θεός, Κ(ύριο)ς→ Κύριος, Ἰ(ησ)οῦ(ς) → Ἰησοῦς, Χ(ριστό)ς → Χριστός, Πν(εῦμ)α → Πνεῦμα, Υ(ἱό)ς→ Υἱός, Π(ατ)ήρ → Πατήρ, Μ(ήτ)ηρ → Μήτηρ, σ(ωτ)ήρ → σωτήρ, φιλάν(θρωπ)ος→ φιλάνθρωπος, Θ(εοτό)κος→ Θεοτόκος, στ(αυ)ρός→ σταυρός, ἀπόστ(ολος) → ἀπόστολος, Ἰ(σρα)ήλ → Ἰσραήλ, Ἰ(ηρουσα)λήμ → Ἰηρουσαλήμ etc.), technical terms (δό(ξα) → δόξα, στίχο(ς), στίχ(ος) → στίχος, ἦχο(ς), ἦχ(ος) → ἦχος, π(λάγιος), πλ(άγιος) → πλάγιος, στιχ(ηρόν) → στιχηρόν, τροπ(άριον) → τροπάριον, ἐκ(τενῶς), ἐκτ(ενῶς) → ἐκτενῶς, διακώ(ν) → διακών, πρόσχ(ωμεν) → πρόσχωμεν etc.), endings of the verbs and the substantives (ἡμ(ῶν) →

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41 According to *Novum Testamentum Graece*, ed. E. Nestle – K. Aland (Münster 2012) and *Septuaginta*, ed. A. Rahlfs (Stuttgart 1979).

42 The inclusion of the rubrics is our own editorial decision and not necessarily something that is missing, especially since the scribe is not always consistent in using the same titles and technical terms.

43 *Μηναῖα τοῦ ὅλου ἐνιαυτοῦ*. Α'– ΙΒ' (Rome1888 = MR); *Παρακλητικὴ ἤτοι Ὀκτώηχος ἡ μεγάλη* (Venice 1871; = PaV); *Πεντηκοστάριον* (Venice 1872 = PeV).

44 H. Follieri, *Initia Hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae*, I-V (= Studi et testi 211-215, Città del Vaticano 1961-1962).

45 S. Parenti, E. Velkovska, *L'Eucologio Barberini gr. 336*. Con trad. in lingua italiana (Roma 2000) 34-42.

ἡμῶν, ἀναγκῶ(ν) → ἀναγκῶν, ἱλασμό(ν) → ἱλασμόν, Ματθαῖο(ν) → Ματθαῖον, εἶπε(ν) → εἶπεν, παράσχ(ου) → παράσχου, τῶ(ν) → τῶν, τὸ(ν) → τὸν, αὐλιζό-μενο(ς) → αὐλιζόμενος, πάντ(α) → πάντα, τ(ὰ) → τὰ, θαυμάσι(ά) → θαυμάσιά, ἄρατ(ε) → ἄρατε, λέγ(ει) → λέγει, συναναπαύ(εις) → συναναπαύεις, ἀδελφ(οί) → ἀδελφοί, κατηχουμ(ένων) → κατηχουμένων, αἰῶ(νος) → αἰῶνος, εἰρή(νῃ) → εἰρήνῃ, Κορινθ(ίους) → Κορινθίους, Ματθ(αῖον) → Ματθαῖον etc.), typical for liturgical books abbreviations (οὐ(ρά)νιαι → οὐράνιαι, ἄν(θρωπ)ος → ἄνθρωπος, κατ(ὰ) → κατὰ, κ(αὶ) → καὶ, πρὸς → πρὸς etc.) are resolved without note, as are words that are commonly abbreviated in liturgical texts. Absent diacritic signs were supplied and false diacritics were corrected.

The critical signs are the following:

[...] used to indicate letters or words, additional information, added by our estimation, reconstructed texts.

{...} used for the texts, written by mistake, and should be cancelled out.

cursive used for rubrics.

2.1. Original text (9th c.)

[1. *Εἰς μάρτυρας*].

Lacuna.

fol. 1r-2r

[*Ἀπόστολος πρὸς Ἑβραίους.*] ... πυρός, ἔφυγον στόματα μαχαίρας, ἐνεδυναμώθησαν ἀπὸ ἀσθενείας ... [Heb 11:34-40]

fol. 2v

Ἀλληλούϊα. Ἦχος β΄. Ἀγαλλιᾶσθε, μάρτυρες,[46] ἐν Κυρίῳ, τοῖς εὐθέσι πρέπει αἴνεσις, ἐξομολογεῖσθε τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν κιθάρᾳ.

fol. 2v-3v

للشهدا[47]

Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαῖον. Τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς[48]

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[46] = Sin. gr. ΝΕ/ΜΓ 56+5 (31 Jan., St. Cyrus and John, vespers, on "Lord, I have cried," tone 1, incipit). Cf. Ἀγαλλιᾶσθε, δίκαιοι, ἐν Κυρίῳ, τοῖς εὐθέσι πρέπει αἴνεσις, ἐξομολογεῖσθε τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν κιθάρᾳ (Ps 32:1-2).

[47] For Martyrs.

[48] Christ is named in the opening formula of all Gospel pericopes not ὁ Κύριος, as it is usual for Byzantine Lectionaries (εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς, see *Studies in the Lectionary Text of the Greek New Testament*, ed. E. Colwell, Chicago 1933, 1), but ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός. This title came from 1 Thes 3:11, 2 Thes 2:16 and was regularly used, according to TLG, by early Fathers (Clement of Rome, Epiphanius of Cyprus, Eusebius, Athanasius and Cyril of Alexandria, Maximus the Confessor etc.). It distinguishes *RNB gr. 44* from Byzantine

τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς· Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω ὑμᾶς ὡς πρόβατα ἐν μέσῳ λύκων … [Matt 10:16-22]

fol. 3v

Ὁ διάκων λέγει· Σχολάσωμεν ἐκτενῶς· [Ἐν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν].

ويصلي الكاهن ويقول ما صلح في الوقت[49]

fol. 4r

[*Εἰς σύναξιν στιχηρόν.*] Ὁ τῶν ἁγίων ἀθλοφόρων δεξάμενος τὴν ὑπομονὴν καὶ παρ'ἡμῶν δέχ[ου τὴν ὑμνῳδίαν, φιλάνθρωπε, δωρούμενος ὑμῖν ταῖς αὐτῶν ἱκεσίαις τὸ μέγα ἔλεος].[50]

Ὁ διάκων· Μή τις τῶν κατηχουμένων.

Εἰς τὴν κατάπαυσίν σου, Κύριε, [ὅπου πάντες οἱ ἅγιοί σου ἀναπαύονται, ἀνάπαυσον τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν δούλων σου, ὅτι μόνος ὑπάρχεις ἀθάνατος].[51]

Δόξα Πατρί. Ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῶν ἀναγκῶν [ἡμῶν, Μῆτερ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἡ τεκοῦσα τὸν τῶν ὅλων ποιητήν, ἵνα πάντες κράζωμέν σοι· Χαῖρε, ἡ μόνη προστασία τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν].[52]

[*Ὁ διάκων·*] Ἐν σοφίᾳ Θεοῦ πρόσχωμεν.

Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα Θεόν.

[2.] Εἰς προφῆτα.

[*Τροπάριον.*] Προφῆται ἔνδοξοι, ὑμεῖς βασιλεῖς ἠλέγξασθε, λαῶν δὲ θραύσῃ ἀντέστητε, Θεὸν κηρύττοντες ἐν Τριάδι ἕνα, καὶ θερμῶς ἐλαύνον

fol. 4v

τες τὴν πλάνην ἀπὸ γῆς τὴν πολύθεον καὶ νῦν.[53]

Δόξα Πατρί. Χαῖρε Θεοτόκε Παρθένε, ὅτι ἐ.[54]

Ψαλμός. Μὴ ἅπτεσθε τῶν χριστῶν μου καὶ ἐν τοῖς προφήταις μου μὴ πονηρεύεσθε. [Ps 104:15]

Lectionaries and places it closer to Hagiopolite Lectionaries from Sinai – Sin. gr. 210+Sin. gr. NE/MΓ 12 (A.D. 861/2, rubrics 29, 30, 34 etc.), Sin. arab. 116 (fol. 7r, 13r, 15r etc).

[49] And the priest prays and says, what should be said at this time.

[50] = at the synaxis, for Apostles, fol. 27r (here: Ὁ τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου δεξάμενος). This hymn entered into the printed Pentekostarion, Oktoechos, and Triodion (Follieri III, 205, here: Ὁ τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων). The text is reconstructed according to PaV, 148 (tone 4, Monday, vespers, martyrikon, here: Ὁ τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων).

[51] Follieri I, 381. The text is reconstructed according to PaV, 175 (tone 4, Saturday, orthros, aposticha, nekrosimon).

[52] = on Glory, for Apostles, fol. 15v. This hymn entered into the printed Pentekostarion, Oktoechos, and Triodion (Follieri III, 434). The text is reconstructed according to PaV, 159.

[53] The end of this hymn was not found. According to Thibaut, this metaphor ἐλαύνοντες τὴν πλάνην ἀπὸ γῆς τὴν πολύθεον proves the archaic character of the hymn, and went back to monastic cycles of the 6th c. (Thibaut, *Monuments de la Notation* 19). In reality that was a regular metaphor for the hymnography of Apostles. Cf. in Sin. gr. NE/MΓ 56+5 (canon to Apostles, rubric 45): Ὠιδὴ η'. Οἱ ἔνδοξοι ἀπόστολοι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη εἰδώλων πλάνης λυτρωσάμενοι, εὐλογεῖτε πάντα τὰ ἔργα Κυρίου τὸν Κύριον.

[54] The end of this hymn was not found.

[*Στίχος*.] Ἐξομολογεῖσθε τῷ Κυρίῳ καὶ ἐπικαλεῖσθε τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. [Ps 104:1]
Ἀπόστολος πρὸς Ἑβραίους. [Ἀδελφοί, καὶ] τὶ ἔτι λέγω; Ἐπιλείψει με γὰρ διηγούμενον ὁ χρόνος [Heb 11:32].
Ἀλληλούϊα. Ἦχος πλάγιος δ´. Κύριος δώσει ῥῆμα τοῖς εὐαγγελιζομένοις δυνάμει

fol. 5r

πολλῇ, ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν δυνάμεων τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ. [Ps 67:12-13]
Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαῖον. [Τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς καὶ τοῖς ὄχλοις·] Ὁ φιλῶν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα ὑπὲρ ἐμὲ οὐκ ἔστι μου ἄξιος. [Matt 10:37][55]
Ὁ διάκων λέγει· Σχολάσωμεν ἐκτενῶς· [Ἐν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν].

وتصلي وتقول الذي يصلح في الوقت [56]

[*Εἰς σύναξιν στιχηρόν*.] Ἐν τοῖς προφήταις ἀνήγγειλας ἡμῖν ὁδὸν σωτηρίας, καὶ ἐν ἀποστόλοις ἔλαμψε, σωτὴρ ἡμῶν, ἡ χάρις τοῦ Πνεύματός σου, συ εἶ Θεὸς πρῶτος, καὶ σὺ μετὰ ταῦτα, καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα σὺ εἶ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν.[57]
[*Ὁ διάκων·*] Μή τις τῶν κατηχουμένων.

fol. 5v

Ἀθάνατε Θεέ, ἐν σκηναῖς τῶν δικαίων κατάταξον, οὓς προσελάβου, καὶ ἀνάπαυσον τοὺς δούλους σου.[58]
Δόξα Πατρί. Χαῖρε πάνσεμνε ἁγνή, ἡ τεκοῦσα τὸν Χριστόν, πρέσβευε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱκετῶν σου τοῦ σωθῆναι τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν.[59]
[*Ὁ διάκων·*] Ἐν σοφίᾳ Θεοῦ [πρόσχωμεν].
Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα Θεόν.

[3]. Εἰς ὁσίους.

على الرهبان القديسين[60]

[*Τροπάριον*.] Ὅσιε πάτερ, ἐκκλησίας ἐγένου δόξα καὶ μοναζόντων τὸ καύχημα, καὶ πρὸς

fol. 6r

τὸν Θεὸν ἄμεμπτος ἐπορεύθης εἰς φῶς ἀτελεύτητον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χορῷ ἁγίων συναναπαύεις, πάτερ **Ἀντώνιε**.[61]

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55 Only the incipit of this reading is provided.
56 And you pray and say what should be said at this time.
57 See Follieri I, 470. In PeV, 188 instead of καὶ σὺ μετὰ ταῦτα – σὺ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα.
58 = for Women, fol. 31r. Cf. Sin. gr. NE/ΜΓ 56+5 (17 Jan., canon for the dead in an earthquake): Ὅτι ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν κυριεύεις, ἀγαθέ, ψυχάς, ἃς προσελάβου ἀνάπαυσον, ἐν χώρᾳ τῶν δικαίων κατάταξον διὰ τὸ μέγα σου ἔλεος.
59 = on Glory, for Women, fol. 31r, for an Archangel, fol. 69r.
60 For the Holy Monks.
61 = Sin. gr. NE/ΜΓ 56+5 (17 Jan., St. Anthony the Great, vespers, on "Lord, I have cried," tone 5, here: Ὅσιε πάτερ, μοναζόντων ἐγένου δόξα καὶ τῆς ἐρήμου τὸ καύχημα). Cf. Follieri III, 162 (according το *Νέα Σιών* 14 (1914) 434, here: Ὅσιε πάτερ, ἐκκλησίας ἐγένου δόξα). This hymn did not enter the printed books.

Δόξα. Ἡ Κεχαριτωμένη, μεσίτευσον σαῖς δεήσεσι καὶ αἴτησον ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν πλῆθος οἰκτιρμῶν καὶ τὸν ἱλασμὸν τῶν πολλῶν παραπτωμάτων δεόμεθα.[62]
Ψαλμός. Ἦχος πλάγιος α'. Οἱ ἀγαπῶντες τὸν Κύριον, μισεῖτε πονηρά· φυλάσσει Κύριος τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ὁσίων αὐ

fol. 6v

τοῦ, ἐκ χειρὸς ἁμαρτωλοῦ ῥύσεται αὐτούς. [Ps 96:10]
Στίχος. Φῶς ἀνέτειλε τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ τοῖς εὐθέσι τῇ καρδίᾳ εὐφροσύνη. [Ps 96:11]

fol. 6v-7v

Ἀπόστολος πρὸς Γαλάτας. Ἀδελφοί, ὁ καρπὸς τοῦ Πνεύματός ἐστιν ἀγάπη ... [Gal 5:22-6, 2]

fol. 7v

Ἀλληλούϊα. Ἦχος β'. Ἐπὶ σοί, Κύριε, ἤλπισαν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν, ἤλπισαν, καὶ ἐῤῥύσω αὐτούς. Πρὸς σὲ ἐκέκραξαν καὶ ἐσώθησαν [Ps 21:5-6].
{*Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαίον.* Ὁ φιλῶν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα ὑπερ ἐμὲ οὐκ ἔστι μου ἄξιος [Matt 10:37].
Ὁ διάκων· Σχολάσωμεν ἐκτενῶς. [Ἐν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν].

وتقول[63]

[*Εἰς σύναξιν στιχηρόν.*] Ὅσιε πάτερ, οὐκ ἔδωκας ὕπνον σοῖς ὀφθαλ}.[64]

fol. 8r

يقرا هذا الانجيل على الرهبان وايضا هو يصلح للانبيا[65]

fol. 8r-9r

Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαίον. Τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς καὶ τοῖς ὄχλοις· Ὁ φιλῶν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα ὑπὲρ ἐμὲ οὐκ ἐστί μου ἄξιος ... [Matt 10:37-42]

fol. 9r

[*Ὁ διάκων·*] Σχολάσωμεν ἐκτενῶς. Ἐν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

ويقول[66]

fol. 9v

[*Εἰς σύναξιν στιχηρόν.*] Ὅσιε πάτερ, οὐκ ἔδωκας ὕπνον σοῖς ὀφθαλ

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62 = on Glory, for Venerables, fol. 10v. See also Sin. gr. NE/MΓ 56+5, Sixth Sunday of Lent (in the evening, on Glory). See Follieri II, 28. In MR II, 462 instead of καὶ αἴτησον ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν (cod.) – καὶ αἴτησαι ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν (11 Dec., St. Daniel the Stylite, vespers, theotokion, without the indication of the tone).

63 And you say.

64 Cancelled out crosswise by the scribe himself with the red ink.

65 This Gospel is read for the Monks and it also suits the Prophets.

66 And he says.

fol. 10r

μοις, οὐδὲ τοῖς βλεφάροις σου νυσταγμόν,[67] ἕως οὗ[68] τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὸ σῶμα τῶν παθῶν ἠλευθέρωσας καὶ σεαυτὸν ἡτοίμασας τοῦ Πνεύματος καταγώγιον, ἐλθὼν γὰρ ὁ σωτὴρ σὺν τῷ Πατρί, μονὴν παρὰ σοὶ ἐποιήσατο, διὰ τῆς ὁμοουσίου Τριάδος γενόμενος μεγαλοκήρυξ[69] **Μακάριε,** πρέσβευε ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν.[70]

Ὁ διάκων· Μή τις τῶν κατηχουμένων.

Εἰρηνικὸν ὁδηγὸν

fol. 10v

καὶ φωτεινὸν ἄγγελόν μου, παράσχου.[71]

Δόξα Πατρί. Ἡ Κεχαριτωμένη, μεσίτευσον.[72]

Ὁ διάκων· Ἐν σοφίᾳ [Θεοῦ πρόσχωμεν].

Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα Θεόν.

[4]. Εἰς ἱεράρχας.

على الكهنة [73]

Τροπάριον. Ἐξεχύθη ἡ χάρις ἐν χείλεσί σου,[74] ὅσιε πάτερ, διὰ τοῦτο ἔχρισέ σε ὁ Θεὸς ἀρχιερέα τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ ποιμαίνοντα τὸ ποίμνιον αὐτοῦ ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει. Διὸ περιζωσάμενος τὴν ῥομφαίαν τοῦ δυνατοῦ[75] κατήργησας τὰ δόγματα τῶν αἱρετικῶν, πάτερ **Μακάριε.**[76]

fol. 11r

Δόξα Πατρί. Χαῖρε Θεοτόκε Παρθένε, ὅτι.[77]

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[67] Cf. Ps 131:4.

[68] In the codex: σου.

[69] In the codex: μεγάλε κήρυξ.

[70] = Sin. gr. NE/ΜΓ 56+5 (17 Jan., St. Anthony the Great, vespers, on "Lord, I cry," tone 5). See Follieri III, 163-164. In MR III, 302-303 instead of ἐλθὼν γὰρ ὁ σωτὴρ (cod.) – ἐλθὼν γὰρ ὁ Χριστός, instead of διὰ τῆς ὁμοουσίου Τριάδος γενόμενος μεγαλοκήρυξ Μακάριε (cod.) – καὶ τῆς ὁμοουσίου Τριάδος θεράπων γενόμενος, μεγαλοκήρυξ Εὐθύμιε (20 Jan, St. Euthymius the Great, great vespers, aposticha).

[71] Cf. Ὁ διάκονος· Ἄγγελον εἰρήνης, πιστὸν ὁδηγόν, φύλακα τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ἡμῶν παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου αἰτησώμεθα (Chr. Mercier, *La Liturgie de saint Jacques: édition critique du texte grec avec traduction latine* (= PO 26, Paris 1946) 174.

[72] = on Glory, for Venerables, fol. 6r (which contains the whole text).

[73] For the Priests.

[74] Cf. Ps 44:3.

[75] Cf. Ps 44:4.

[76] It should be noted that in *RNB gr. 44* there is a confusion of about the different ranks of the saints and the texts dedicated to them. Here the hymn for a Venerable is used for Hierarchs. Cf. the text in MR I, 139: Ἐξεχύθη ἡ χάρις ἐν χείλεσί σου, ὅσιε πάτερ Ἰωάννη Χρυσόστομε· διὰ τοῦτο ἔχρισέ σε ὁ Θεός ἀρχιερέα τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ, ποιμαίνειν τὸ ποίμνιον αὐτοῦ ἐν ὁσιότητι καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ. Διὸ περιζωσάμενος τὴν ῥομφαίαν τοῦ δυνατοῦ, διέκοψας τὰς γλωσσαλγίας τῶν αἱρέσεων. Καὶ νῦν μὴ παύσῃ πρεσβεύων εἰρηνεῦσαι τὸν κόσμον, καὶ σῶσαι τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν (13 Nov., St. John the Chrysostom, vespers, automelon, tone 1). See also Follieri I, 490.

[77] The end of this hymn was not found.

Ψαλμός. Οἱ ἱερεῖς σου ἐνδύσονται δικαιοσύνην καὶ οἱ ὅσιοί σου ἀγαλλιάσονται. [Ps 131:9]
Στίχος. Τοὺς ἱερεῖς αὐτῆς ἐνδύσω σωτηρίαν, καὶ οἱ ὅσιοι αὐτῆς ἀγαλλιάσει ἀγαλλιάσονται. [Ps 131:16]

fol. 11r-12v

Ἀπόστολος πρὸς Ἑβραίους. Ἀδελφοί, ἔχοντες οὖν ἀρχιερέα μέγαν διεληλυθότα τοὺς οὐρανούς ... [Heb 4:14-16, 5:1-6]

fol. 12v

Ἀλληλούϊα. [Ἦχος] πλάγιος α'. Ἐξεχύθη ἡ χάρις ἐν χείλεσί σου· διὰ τοῦτο εὐλόγησέ σε ὁ Θεὸς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα περίζωσαι τὴν ῥομφαίαν σου

fol. 13r

ἐπὶ τὸν μηρόν σου, δυνατέ, τῇ ὡραιότητί σου καὶ τῷ κάλλει σου καὶ ἔντεινον καὶ κατευοδοῦ καὶ βασίλευε. [Ps 44:3-5]

fol. 13r-14v

Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ἰωάννην. Τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς καὶ τοῖς ὄχλοις· ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ὁ μὴ εἰσερχόμενος διὰ τῆς θύρας εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν τῶν προβάτων ... [John 10:1-10]

fol. 14v

[*Ὁ διάκων*·] Σχολάσωμεν ἐκτενῶς. [Ἐν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν].

وتقول[78]

[*Εἰς σύναξιν στιχηρόν.*] Ἐν ἱερεῦσι καὶ μάρτυσι διέπρεψας, ὅσιε, πιστὸς διαμείνας

fol. 15r

ποιμήν, καὶ Χριστοῦ πιὼν τὸ ποτήριον, διόπερ ἑκατέρωθεν εὐαρεστήσας αὐτῷ τῷ Θεῷ πρέσβευε σωθῆναι ἡμᾶς σὺν τοῖς ἄνω λειτουργοῖς ἐν φωτὶ νῦν αὐλιζόμενος.[79]
[*Ὁ διάκων*·] Μή τις τῶν κατηχουμένων.
Πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος Ἀδάμ, δ[εύτερος ἐκ οὐρανοῦ], Ἀδὰμ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν εἰργάσατο, Χριστὸς δὲ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἔδειξεν, οὓς προσελάβου ἀνάπαυσον.[80]
Δόξα Πατρί. Δέχου τὰς φωνὰς τῶν [οἰκετῶν σου, πάναγνε Παρθένε Θεοτόκε, καὶ πρέσβευε ἀπαύστως πλημμελημάτων λύσιν καὶ εἰρήνην δωρηθῆναι ἡμῖν].[81]
[*Ὁ διάκων*·] Ἐν σοφίᾳ Θεοῦ πρόσχωμεν.
Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα Θεόν.

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[78] And you say.

[79] = Sin. gr. NE/MΓ 56+5 (25 Apr., St. Mark Apostle, vespers, on "Lord, I have cried," tone 8). In MR I, 329 instead of πιστὸς διαμείνας ποιμήν (cod.) – πιστὸς ἀνεδείχθης ποιμήν, instead of διόπερ ἑκατέρωθεν εὐαρεστήσας αὐτῷ τῷ Θεῷ πρέσβευε σωθῆναι ἡμᾶς (cod.) – διὸ ἐν ἑκατέροις εὐαρεστήσας αὐτῷ τῷ Χριστῷ, πρέσβευε ὑπὲρ πάντων ἡμῶν (3 Oct., St. Dionysius the Areopagite, orthros, tone pl. 4). See also Follieri I, 443.

[80] Cf. 1 Cor 15:45. The text is reconstructed according to Sin. gr. NE/MΓ 56+5, canon for the dead in the earthquake (17 Jan., on "Lord, I have cried" and at the Praises).

[81] See Follieri I, 301 = Sin. gr. NE/MΓ 56+5 (6 June, Archangel, at the Praises, tone 8).

[5]. Εἰς ἀποστόλους.

على السليحين[82]

Τροπάριον. Ἦχος δʹ. Ὁ ἐνδοξαζόμενος ἐν τῇ

fol. 15v

μνήμῃ τῶν ἀποστόλων σου, Χριστὲ ὁ Θεός, ὑπ' αὐτῶν[83] [δυσωπούμενος κατάπεμψον ἡμῖν τὸ μέγα ἔλεος].[84]

Δόξα Πατρί. Ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῶν ἀναγκῶν ἡμῶν, Μῆτερ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἡ τεκοῦσα.[85]

Ψαλμός. Εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐξῆλθεν ὁ φθόγγος αὐτῶν καὶ εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ ῥήματα αὐτῶν. [Ps 18:5]

Στίχος. Οἱ οὐρανοὶ διηγοῦνται δόξαν Θεοῦ, ποίησιν δὲ χειρῶν αὐτοῦ ἀναγγέλλει τὸ στερέωμα. [Ps 18:1]

fol. 15v-17r

Ἀπόστολος πρὸς Κορινθίους Αʹ. Ἀδελφοί, δοκῶ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀποστόλους ... [1 Cor 4:9-15]

Ἀλληλούϊα. Ἦχος βʹ. Ἐμοὶ δὲ λίαν ἐτιμήθησαν οἱ φίλοι σου, ὁ Θεός, λίαν ἐκραταιώθησαν αἱ ἀρχαὶ αὐτῶν. [Ps 138:17]

fol. 17r-17v, 26r-26v

Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαῖον. Τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ προσκαλεσάμενος ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς τοὺς δώδεκα μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ, ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν ... [Matt 10:1-10]

fol. 27r

Ὁ διάκων· Σχολάσωμεν ἐκτενῶς. [Ἐν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν].

وتقول[86]

[*Εἰς σύναξιν στιχηρόν.*] Ὁ τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου δεξάμενος τὴν ὑπομονὴν καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν δέχου τὴν ὑμνῳδίαν, φιλάνθρωπε, δωρούμενος ὑμῖν ταῖς αὐτοῦ ἱκεσίαις τὸ μέγα ἔλεος.[87]

[*Ὁ διάκων·*] Μή τις τῶν κατηχουμένων.

Σὺ ὁ Θεός, ὁ καταβάσας Ἅιδου, τὰς ὀδύνας ἔλυσε τῶν.[88]

Δόξα [*Πατρί*]. Ὅτι πάντων ὑπάρχεις τῶν ποιημάτων ὑπερτέρα, καὶ ὑμνεῖν σε ἀξίως οὐκ εὐποροῦμεν, Θεοτόκε, δωρεὰν αἰτοῦμέν σε· ἐλέησόν ἡμᾶς.[89]

[*Ὁ διάκων·*] Ἐν σοφίᾳ Θεοῦ πρόσχωμεν.

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82 For the Apostles.

83 In the codex: ἐν αὐτοῖς.

84 = Sin. gr. ΝΕ/ΜΓ 56+5 (Apostles, rubric 48, vespers, on "Lord, I have cried" and at the Praises; 31 Jan., St. Cyrus and John, at the Praises, tone 4). This hymn, as a martyrikon, entered the printed Pentekostarion, Oktoechos, and Triodion (Follieri III, 24, here: ἐν ταῖς μνείαις). It is reconstructed according to PaV 143.

85 = on Glory, for Martyrs, fol. 4r (the whole text you find there).

86 And you say.

87 = sticheron at the synaxis, for Martyrs, fol. 4r (here: Ὁ τῶν ἁγίων ἀθλοφόρων δεξάμενος).

88 The end of the hymn was not found.

89 See Follieri III, 197. In PaV, 160 instead of καὶ ὑμνεῖν σε ἀξίως οὐκ εὐποροῦμεν, Θεοτόκε (cod.) ἀνυμνεῖν σε ἀξίως μὴ εὐποροῦντες (tone 4, orthros, Thursday, theotokion).

Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα Θεόν.

fol. 27v

[6]. Εἰς γυναῖκας.

Τροπάρια. [*Ἦχος*] *πλάγιος δ΄.* Θυγατέρες Ἱερουσαλὴμ[90] ἠγάπησαν τὸν νυμφίον ἑαυτῶν καὶ ἐνέδραμον ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ, τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα ἀγωνισαμέναι, οὐκ ἐφείσαντο τῶν σωμάτων, ἵνα τὰς ψυχὰς κοσμήσωσιν, κατεφρόνησαν τῶν βασάνων, ἵνα τὸν ἐχθρὸν νικήσωσιν, ὧν ταῖς πρεσβείαις, Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, σῶσον καὶ ἡμᾶς ὡς φιλάνθρωπος.[91]
Δόξα Πατρί. Τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Γαβριὴλ τὴν φωνήν.[92]
Ψαλμός. Ἀπενεχθήσονται τῷ βασιλεῖ παρ

fol. 28r

θένοι ὀπίσω αὐτῆς, αἱ πλησίον[93] αὐτῆς ἀπενεχθήσονταί σοι. [Ps 44:15]
Στίχος. Ἀπενεχθήσονται ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ καὶ ἀγαλλιάσει. [Ps 44:16]

fol. 28r-28v

Ἀπόστολος πρὸς Κορινθίους. Ἀδελφοί, ἔχομεν τὸν θησαυρὸν τοῦτον ἐν ὀστρακίνοις σκεύεσιν ... [2 Cor 4:7-12]
Ἀλληλούϊα. Ἦχος β΄.

fol. 29r

Θαυμαστοὶ οἱ μετεωρισμοὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, θαυμαστὸς ἐν ὑψηλοῖς ὁ Κύριος, τὰ μαρτύριά σου ἐπιστώθησαν σφόδρα. [Ps 92:4-5]

fol. 29r-30v

Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαῖον. Τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς· τότε ὁμοιωθήσεται ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν δέκα παρθένοις ... [Matt 25:1-13]

fol. 31r

Ὁ διάκων· Σχολάσωμεν ἐκτενῶς. Ἐν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ [Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν].

وتقول[94]

[*Εἰς σύναξιν στιχηρόν.*] Τῆς παρθενίας τὸ καύχημα, τῆς Παρθένου ὁ τόκος καὶ ἀπαρχῆς τῆς ἀθλήσεως τοῦ δεσπότου τὸ πάθος,[95] δι᾽ἀμφότερων **Βαρβάρα** εὐπρεπῶς κοσμηθεῖσα ὥσπερ νύμφη τῷ νυμφίῳ προσηνέχθης Χριστῷ[96] καὶ πρεσβεύει σωθῆναι ἡμᾶς.[97]
Ὁ διάκων· Μή τις τῶν κατηχουμένων.

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[90] In the codex: Ἰηρουσαλὴμ.

[91] = Sin. gr. NE/MΓ 56+5, St. Pistis, Elpis, Agape (1 June, on "Lord, I have cried" and at the Praises, tone 8).

[92] See Follieri IV, 265. This hymn did not entered the printed books.

[93] In the codex: ἐνπλησίον.

[94] And you say.

[95] In the codex: τῷ πόθῳ.

[96] In the codex: Χριστέ.

[97] = Sin. gr. NE/MΓ 4, St. Christina (24 July, at the Praises), where instead of Βαρβάρα – πανεύφημε.

Ἀθάνατε Θέε, ἐν σκηναῖς τῶν.[98]
Δόξα Πατρί. Χαῖρε πάνσεμνε ἁγνή, ἡ τεκοῦσα τὸν Χριστόν.[99]
[*Ὁ διάκων·*] Ἐν σοφίᾳ Θεοῦ πρόσχωμεν.
Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα Θεόν.

fol. 31v

[7]. Εἰς τὰ ἐγκαίνια.

Τροπάριον. *Ἦχος α΄.* Τοῦτον τὸν ναὸν ὁ Πατὴρ ἔκτισε, ὁ Υἱὸς ἐτελέωσε, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐπεσκίασεν αὐτόν.[100]
Δόξα Πατρί. Τῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος τὸ πλήρωμα, ἐδ.[101]
Ψαλμός. *Ἦχος α΄.* Πλησθησόμεθα ἐν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τοῦ οἴκου σου· ἅγιος ὁ ναός σου, θαυμαστὸς ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ. [Ps 64:5-6]
Στίχος. Ἐπάκουσον ἡμῶν, ὁ Θεός, ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν, ἡ ἐλπὶς πάντων τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς. [Ps 64:6]
Ἀπόστολος πρὸς Κορινθίους.

fol. 32r-33r

Ἀδελφοί, ἕκαστος τὸν ἴδιον μισθὸν λήψεται κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον κόπον ... [1 Cor 3:8-17]
Ἀλληλούϊα. [*Ἦχος*] *πλάγιος δ΄.* Κύριε, ἠγάπησα εὐπρέπειαν οἴκου σου καὶ τόπον σκηνώματος δόξης σου. [Ps 25:8]
Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαῖον. Ἐλθὼν ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς

fol. 33v, 18r-18v

εἰς τὰ μέρη Καισαρείας τῆς Φιλίππου ... [Matt 16:13-19]

fol. 18v

Ὁ διάκων· Σχολάσωμεν [ἐκτενῶς]. [Ἐν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν].

وتقول[102]

[*Εἰς σύναξιν στιχηρόν.*] Ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Κυρίου μεγάλως κεκοσμεῖται, ἐνδυσαμένη τὴν

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[98] = for a Prophet, fol. 5v (the whole text you find there).

[99] = on Glory, for a Prophet, fol. 5v, for an Archangel, fol. 69r (the whole text you find there).

[100] Vitaly Permiakov compared this troparion to the hymn, sung during the procession from the Anastasis to the Martyrium at the vigil on the eve of Easter: Φωτίζου, φωτίζου, ἡ νέα Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἥκει γάρ σου τὸ φῶς, καὶ ἡ δόξα Κυρίου ἐπὶ σὲ ἀνατέταλκεν, τοῦτον τὸν οἶκον ὁ Πατὴρ ᾠκοδόμησε, τοῦτον τὸν οἶκον ὁ Υἱὸς ἐστερέωσεν, τοῦτον τὸν οἶκον τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἀνεκαίνισεν, τὸ φωτίζον καὶ στηρίζον καὶ ἁγιάζον τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν (Typicon of the Anastasis, Hagiou Stavrou 43, A.D. 1122). See *Ἀναλέκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταχυολογίας*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, II (Saint Petersburg 1894; reprint Bruxelles: Culture et Civilisation 1963) 185; V. Permiakov, *"Make this the place where your glory dwells:" origins and evolution of the Byzantine rite for the Consecration of a church.* Notre Dame, Indiana, April, 2012. Diss. ad doct. 348-350.

[101] = to the Dedication, fol. 18v (the incipit); = Sin. Gr. ΝΕ/ΜΓ 56+5, Pentecost (rubric 65, on Glory, the incipit). It was not possible to find the whole text of this hymn.

[102] And you say.

πορφύραν τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ στέφανον ἔχουσα τὸν σωτήριον, ἑορτάζει μετ᾽ἀγγέλων τὸν νυμφίον ἔχουσα.[103]
[*Ὁ διάκων·*] Μή τις τῶν κατηχουμένων.
Ἀνάπαυσον, δέσποτα, ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν δούλων σου καὶ ἀξίωσον τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς, ὅπου καταλάμπει τὸ φῶς τοῦ προσώπου σου, Κύριε.
Δόξα Πατρί. Τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος τὸ πλήρωμα.[104]
[*Ὁ διάκων·*] Ἐν σοφίᾳ Θεοῦ πρόσχωμεν.
Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα Θεόν.

fol. 19r

[8. Τῇ Α′ Κυριακῇ].

Κύριε εὐλόγησον, ἐν ὀνόματι Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, νῦν [καὶ ἀεί, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν].

بسم الاب والابن وروح القدس اله واحد. نبدا بمعونه الله

نكتب اناجيل وابسطلس وابسلموس والليلويا ليوم الاحد [105]

اولها تقول[106]

[*Τροπάριον.*] Ὁ Μονογενὴς Υἱὸς καὶ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀθάνατος ὑπάρχων, καὶ καταδεξάμενος διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν σαρκωθῆναι ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας Θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας ἀτρέπτως ἐνανθρωπήσας, σταυρωθῆναι, Χριστὲ ὁ Θεός, θανάτῳ θάνατον πατήσας, εἷς ὤν, εἷς Ἁγίας Τριάδος συνδοξαζόμενος τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, σῶσον ἡμᾶς.[107]
Δόξα Πατρί. Καὶ [*νῦν*]. Εἷς ὤν, εἷς Ἁγίας Τριάδος.

fol. 19v

Ψαλμός. Ἦχος α′. Εἰργάσω σωτηρίαν ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς, σὺ ἐκραταίωσας ἐν τῇ δυνάμει σου τὴν θάλασσαν. [Ps 73:12-13]
Στίχος. Τὴν οἰκουμένην καὶ τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτῆς σὺ ἐθεμελιώσας {αὐτῆς}. [Ps 88, 12]

fol. 19v-21r

Ἀπόστολος πρὸς Ρωμαίους. Ἀδελφοί, Παῦλος, δοῦλος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, κλητὸς ἀπόστολος ... [Rom 1:1-12]

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[103] = Sin. gr. ΝΕ/ΜΓ 56+5 (16 Jan., Dedication of the Chozeva Monastery, tone 1, on "Lord, I have cried"). See also Follieri II, 16. This hymn did not enter the printed books.

[104] = to the Dedication, fol. 31v (the incipit); Sin. gr. ΝΕ/ΜΓ 56+5, Pentecost (rubric 65, on Glory, the incipit). It was not possible to find the whole text of this hymn.

[105] "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, One God. We begin with the help of the God to write the Gospel and Epistle readings and psalms and the alleluias for the Sundays."

[106] First you say.

[107] In the edition (Συλλειτουργικὸν ἤτοι ἡ τάξις ἀναγνώστου καὶ ψάλτου. Ἅγιον Ὄρος 1996, 133): σταυρωθείς τε instead of σταυρωθῆναι, τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος instead of εἷς ἁγίας Τριάδος.

fol. 21r

Ἀλληλούϊα. Ἦχος α΄. Σχολάσατε καὶ γνῶτε, ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ Θεός, ὑψωθήσομαι ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ὑψωθήσομαι ἐν τῇ γῇ, Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων μεθ' ἡμῶν. [Ps 45:11-12]

fol. 21v-24r

Εὐαγγέλιον εἰς Κυριακὴ α΄. Κατὰ Ματθαῖον. Τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ ἀκούσας ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός, ὅτι Ἰωάννης παρεδόθη... [Matt 4:12-25]

fol. 24r

[*Ὁ διάκων·*] Σχολάσωμεν ἐκτενῶς. Ἐν εἰρήνῃ Χριστοῦ[108] [δεηθῶμεν].

ثم تصلي صلواتك . وتقول[109]

[*Εἰς σύναξιν*] *στιχηρόν.* Τῷ ζωοδόχῳ σου μνήματι παρεστῶσαι αἱ τίμιαι μυροφόροι μαθήτριαι τοῦ λίθου τὴν μετάστασιν ὁρῶσαι κατεπλήττοντο καὶ φωνῆς ἐπήκουον τοῦ ἀγγέλου λέγοντος πρὸς αὐτάς· Τί τῶν Ἰουδαίων δεδοίκατε τῶν φόβων, τῶν φυλακῶν ἐννοοῦσαι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, τί τὸν ζωοδότην ἐν νεκροῖς ἐπιζητεῖτε; Ἐπράχθη τὸ τῆς ἀναστάσεως μυστήριον· ὁ γὰρ τὰ πάντα πληρῶν, παρών, τὸ χαῖρε προσεφώνει πρὸς αὐτάς· τοῖς

fol. 24v

μαθηταῖς μου νῦν ἀπαγγείλατε· προάγω γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ. Ὁ ἑκουσίως σταυρὸν ὑπομείνας σαρκὶ καὶ τὸν θάνατον σκυλεύσας ὡς Θεός, δώρησαι τῷ λαῷ σου ἱλασμόν, φωτισμὸν καὶ τὸ μέγα ἔλεος.[110]

[*Ὁ διάκων·*] Μή τις τῶν κατηχουμένων.

[*Εἰς τὰ ἅγια.*] Ἀλληλούϊα. Ἀλληλούϊα. Ἄρατε πύλας, οἱ ἄρχοντες, ὑμῶν καὶ ἐπάρθητε, πύλαι αἰώνιοι, καὶ εἰσελεύσεται ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης. [Ps 23:7] Ἀλληλούϊα. *Δόξα Πατρί.* Ἀλληλούϊα.

[*Ὁ διάκων·*] Ἐν σοφίᾳ Θεοῦ πρόσχωμεν.

Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα Θεόν.

[9]. Τῇ [Β΄] Κυριακῇ.

الجمعه الثانيه في اللحن الثاني

البدوا مثل الاول[111]

[*Τροπάριον.*] Ὁ Μονογενὴς Υἱὸς καὶ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ.

وبعد تقول[112]

Ψαλμός.

fol. 25r

Σῶσον τὸν λαόν σου, ὁ Θεός, καὶ εὐλόγησον τὴν κληρονομίαν σου, Κύριε. [Ps 27:9]

Στίχος. Καὶ ποίμανον αὐτοὺς ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ὕψωσον[113] αὐτοὺς ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος. [Ps 27:9]

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108 Cf. in other propers: Ἐν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ Κυρίου.
109 Then pray your prayers and say.
110 See Follieri IV, 328. This hymn did not enter the printed books.
111 The Second Week, for the second tone, the beginning is like the first one.
112 And then say.
113 In the printed Psalter: ἔπαρον.

fol. 25r-25v, 34r

Ἀπόστολος πρὸς Ῥωμαίους. Ἀδελφοί, ἢ ἀγνοεῖτε ὅτι ὅσοι ἐβαπτίσθημεν εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, εἰς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ ἐβαπτίσθημεν; ... [Rom 6:3-23]

fol. 34r

Ἀλληλούϊα. Ἦχος β'. Οἱ πεποιθότες ἐπὶ Κύριον ὡς ὄρος Σιών· οὐ σαλευθήσεται εἰς τὸν

fol. 34v

αἰῶνα ὁ κατοικῶν Ἱερουσαλήμ, ὄρη κύκλῳ αὐτῆς. [Ps 124:1-2]

fol. 34v-36r

Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαῖον. Ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς καὶ τοῖς ὄχλοις· Μὴ κρίνετε... [Matt 7:1-11]

fol. 36r

[*Ὁ διάκων*·] Σχολάσωμεν ἐκτενῶς. Ἐν εἰρήνῃ [Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν].

وتصلي وتقول هذه[114]

Εἰς σύναξιν στιχηρόν. Ὄντως παράνομοι σφραγίσαντες τὸν τάφον, μείζονος ἡμῶν θαύματος ἠξιώθησαν. Ἔχουσι τὴν γνῶσιν οἱ φύλακες· σήμερον προῆλθε τοῦ μνήματος καὶ ἔλεγον· εἴπατε, ὅτι ἡμῶν κοιμωμένων ἦλθον οἱ μαθηταὶ καὶ ἔκλεψαν αὐτόν. Καὶ τις κλέπτει νεκ

fol. 36v

ρόν, μάλιστα καὶ γυμνόν; Αὐτὸς ἀνέστη αὐτεξουσίως ὡς Θεός, καταλιπὼν καὶ [ἐν] τῷ τάφῳ τὰ ἐντάφια. Δεῦτε ἴδετε, Ἰουδαῖοι, πῶς οὐ διέῤῥηξε τὰς σφραγίδας ὁ τὸν θάνατον σκυλεύσας καὶ τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν ἀτελεύτητον ζωὴν δωρούμενος καὶ τὸ μέγα ἔλεος.[115]

ثم تقول[116]

[*Ὁ διάκων*·] Μή τις τῶν κατηχουμένων.
[*Εἰς τὰ ἅγια*]. Ἀλληλούϊα. Ἀλληλούϊα. Ἄρατε πύλας, οἱ ἄρχοντες, ὑμῶν. [Ps 23, 7] Ἀλληλούϊα. *Δόξα Πατρί*. Ἀλληλούϊα.
[*Ὁ διάκων*·] Ἐν σοφίᾳ Θεοῦ πρόσχωμεν.
Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα Θεόν, πατέρα.

fol. 37r

[10]. Τῇ Γ' Κυριακῇ.

الجمعه الثالثه في اللحن الثالث[117]

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[114] And you pray and say.

[115] In PaV 57 instead of σφραγίσαντες τὸν τάφον (cod.) – σφραγίσαντες τὸν λίθον, instead of μείζονος ἡμῶν θαύματος ἠξιώθησαν (cod.) – μείζονος ἡμᾶς θαύματος ἠξιώσατε, instead of μάλιστα καὶ γυμνόν (cod.) – μάλιστα δὲ καὶ γυμνόν, instead of καταλιπὼν καὶ τῷ τάφῳ (cod.) – καταλιπὼν καὶ ἐν τῷ τάφῳ τὰ ἐντάφια αὐτοῦ, instead of ὁ τὸν θάνατον σκυλεύσας (cod.) – ὁ τὸν θάνατον πατήσας (tone 2, Sunday, orthros, at the Praises, anatolika). See Follieri III, 122.

[116] And you say.

[117] The Third Week, for the third tone.

[*Τροπάριον.*] Ὁ Μονογενὴς Υἱὸς καὶ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ.

ويصلي الشماس. وبعده القسيس. وتقول[118]

Τρισάγιος.[119]
Ψαλμός. Ἦχος γ΄. Μὴ ἀποῤῥίψῃς με, Κύριε, εἰς καιρὸν γήρως, ἐν τῷ ἐκλείπειν τὴν ἰσχύν μου μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς με. [Ps 70:9]
Στίχος. Ἐπὶ σοί, Κύριε, ἤλπισα, μὴ καταισχυνθείην εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. [Ps 30:2]

fol. 37r-38v

Ἀπόστολος πρὸς Ρωμαίους. Γ΄. Ἀδελφοί, ὁ νόμος τοῦ Πνεύματος τῆς ζωῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ... [Rom 8:2-11]

fol. 38v

Ἀλληλούϊα. Τὰ ῥήματά μου ἐνώτισαι, Κύριε, σύνες τῆς κραυγῆς μου, πρόσχες τῇ φωνῇ τῆς δεήσεώς μου. [Ps 5:2-3] *Ἀλληλούϊα.*

fol. 38v-40v

Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μάρκον. Τῇ Γ΄ Κυριακῇ. [Τῷ καιρῷ εκείνῳ] εἰσελθὼν ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός εἰς Καπερναούμ, δι᾽ ἡμερῶν καὶ ἠκούσθη... [Mark 2:1-12]

fol. 40v

[*Ὁ διάκων·*] Σχολάσωμεν ἐκτενῶς. [Ἐν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν].

وتصلي صلواتك وتقول هذه[120]

[*Εἰς σύναξιν*] *στιχηρόν.* Ἦχος γ΄. Τὸ ζωοδόχον σου μνῆμα αἱ τίμιαι μαθήτριαι κατέλαβον[121] τὸ ἀκήρατον σῶμα μυρίσαι σπουδάζουσαι Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν, τῶν φυλακῶν δὲ ἐννοοῦσαι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν τοῦ λίθου ἐξίσταντο ὁρῶσαι τὴν μετάστασιν

fol. 41r

καὶ φωνῆς ἀγγελικῆς ἐνηχοῦντο βοῶσαι παραδόξως πρὸς αὐτάς· διαῤῥαγεῖ τοῦ Ἅιδου τὸ βασίλειον, τοῦ Ἀδὰμ διελύθη τὸ κατάκριμα, πέπαυται τὸ πένθος τῆς προμήτορος, τὸν γὰρ Ἅιδην σκυλεύσας Χριστὸς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν παρέχων πᾶσι τὸ μέγα ἔλεος.

وتصلي وتقول[122]

[*Ὁ διάκων·*] Μή τις τῶν κατηχουμένων.
[*Εἰς τὰ ἅγια*]. Ἀλληλούϊα. Ἀλληλούϊα. Β΄. Ἄρατε πύλας, οἱ ἄρχοντες, ὑμῶν καὶ ἐπάρθητε πύλαι αἰώνιοι, καὶ εἰσελεύσετ[αι ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης]. [Ps 23:7] *Δόξα Πατρί.* Ἀλληλούϊα.
[*Ὁ διάκων·*] Ἐν σοφίᾳ Θεοῦ πρόσχωμεν.
Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα Θεόν.

[118] And the deacon prays, and after him the priest, and you say.
[119] In codex: ἅγιος γ΄.
[120] And you pray your prayers and you say the following.
[121] In the codex: καταλάμβανον.
[122] And you pray and say.

fol. 41v

[11]. Τῇ Δ΄Κυριακῇ.

الجمعه الرابعه في اللحن الرابع [123]

تبدا وتقول بعد صلواتك [124]

[*Τροπάριον.*] Ὁ Μονογενὴς Υἱὸς καὶ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ.

Ψαλμός. [*Ἦχος*] *δ΄.*Ἐπίστρεψον ἡμᾶς, ὁ Θεὸς τῶν σωτηρίων ἡμῶν, καὶ ἀπόστρεψον τὸν θυμόν σου ἀφ' ἡμῶν. Μὴ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ὀργισθῇς ἡμῖν; ἢ διατενεῖς τὴν ὀργήν σου ἀπὸ γενεᾶς εἰς γενεάν; [Ps 84:5-6]

Στίχος. Ὁ Θεός, σὺ ἐπιστρέψας ζωώσεις ἡμᾶς καὶ ὁ λαός σου εὐφρανθήσεται [ἐπὶ σοί]. [Ps 84:7]

fol. 41v-43r

Ἀπόστολος πρὸς Ρωμαίους. Ἀδελφοί, ἡ μὲν εὐδοκία τῆς ἐμῆς καρδίας καὶ ἡ δέησις ἡ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εἰς σωτηρίαν ... [Rom 10:1-13]

fol. 43r

Ἀλληλούϊα. Ἦχος δ΄. Ὅτι Θεὸς μέγας Κύριος, καὶ βασιλεὺς μέγας ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν. [Ps 94:3]

fol. 43v-45r, 48r

Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ {Μάρκον} Ματθαῖον. Τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ ἐλθὼν ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν Πέτρου, εἶδε τὴν πενθερὰν αὐτοῦ βεβλημένην ... [Matt 8:14-27]

fol. 46r

{ἄνθρωποι ἐθαύμασαν λέγοντες· Ποταπός ἐστιν οὗτος, ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἄνεμοι καὶ ἡ θάλασσα ὑπακούουσιν αὐτῷ;}.

fol. 47r

[*Ὁ διάκων·* Σχολάσωμεν ἐκτενῶς. Ἐν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν].

تقرا هذه في القداس في الجمعه الرابعه بعد الانجيل[125]

Στιχηρόν εἰς σύναξιν. Ἦχος δ΄. Τὸ φαιδρόν κήρυγμα τῆς ἀναστάσεως λαβοῦσαι αἱ μυροφόροι γυναῖκες ἐκ τοῦ ἀγγέλου, οὐ τηροῦντες τῷ φόβῳ νεκρωθέντες τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἔλεγον· παράνομοι καὶ ἀπειθείς, τί ἐφρυάξατε, τὶ ματὴν ταράττεσθε καὶ μελετᾶτε κενά· ὃν γὰρ ἐλογίσασθε νεκρὸν ἀπολωλότα ἀνέστη ὡς Θεὸς καθὼς ἠθέλησε καὶ οὐράνιαι δυνάμεις ἐπεκρότησαν σὺν αὐτοῖς τε καὶ δικαίων ψυχαῖς ἀνέστησαν, οὕτως κραυγάσασαι· δόξα τῇ ἐγέρσει σου, ὁ λυτρωσάμενος ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς φθορᾶς τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου ὡς παντοδύναμος.[126]

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[123] The Fourth Week, for the fourth tone.

[124] You begin and say after your prayers.

[125] You say this for the liturgy of the Fourth Week after the Gospel.

[126] Cf. Follieri IV, 301 (Τὸ φαιδρὸν τῆς ἀναστάσεως κήρυγμα). This hymn did not enter the printed books.

fol. 48r

ἄνθρωποι ἐθαύμασαν λέγοντες· ποταπός ἐστιν οὗτος, ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἄνεμοι καὶ ἡ θάλασσα ὑπακούουσιν αὐτῷ;
[*Ὁ διάκων·* Μή τις τῶν κατηχουμένων.
Εἰς τὰ ἅγια. Ἀλληλούϊα. Ἀλληλούϊα. Ἄρατε πύλας, οἱ ἄρχοντες, ὑμῶν καὶ ἐπάρθητε πύλαι αἰώνιοι, καὶ εἰσελεύσεται ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης. [Ps 23:7] *Δόξα Πατρί.* Ἀλληλούϊα.
Ὁ διάκων· Ἐν σοφίᾳ Θεοῦ πρόσχωμεν.
Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα Θεόν.]

وتقول مثل الرسم في الحدود[127]

[12]. Τῇ Ε΄ Κυριακῇ.

الجمعه الخامسه في اللحن الخامس[128]

[*Τροπάριον.*] Ὁ Μονογενὴς Υἱός.
Ψαλμός. [*Ἦχος*] *πλάγιος α΄.* Ἐκ θλίψεως ἐπεκαλεσάμην τὸν Κύριον, καὶ ἐπήκουσέ μου εἰς πλατυσμόν. Κύριος ἐμοὶ βοηθός, καὶ οὐ φοβηθήσομαι [τί ποιήσει μοι] ἄνθρωπος. Κύριος ἐμοὶ βοηθός, κἀγὼ ἐπόψομαι τοὺς ἐχθρούς μου. [Ps 117:5-7]
Στίχος. Ἀγαθὸν πεποιθέναι ἐπὶ Κύριον ἢ πεποιθέναι ἐπ' ἄνθρωπον. [Ps 117:8]
Ἀπόστολος πρὸς Κορινθίους Β΄.

fol. 48v-49v

Ἀδελφοί, ἡ γὰρ ἀγάπη τοῦ Χριστοῦ συνέχει ἡμᾶς... [2 Cor 5:14 – 6:2]

fol. 50r

Ἀλληλούϊα. Ἦχος πλάγιος α΄. Ὁ θρόνος σου, ὁ Θεός, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος ῥάβδος εὐθύτητος, ἡ ῥάβδος τῆς βασιλείας σου. Ἠγάπησας δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἐμίσησας ἀνομίαν. [Ps 44:7-8]

fol. 50r-51v

Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Λουκαν. Κυριακὴ Ε΄. Ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἰδοὺ ἄνδρες φέροντες ἐπὶ κλίνης ἄνθρωπον, ὃς ἦν παραλελυμένος ... [Luke 5:18-26]

وتقول الصلوات على الرسم
وبعد ذاك تقول هذه الاسطيخن[129]

[*Ὁ διάκων·* Σχολάσωμεν ἐκτενῶς. Ἐν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν].
[*Εἰς σύναξιν*] *στιχηρόν.* Οἱ τῆς κουστωδίας ἐνηχοῦντο ὑπὸ τῶν παρανόμων· Καλύψατε Χριστοῦ τὴν ἔγερσιν καὶ λάβετε ἀργύρια καὶ εἴπατε, ὅτι ἡμῶν κοιμωμένων ἐκ τοῦ μνημείου ἐσυλήθη ὁ νεκρός.

fol. 52r

Τίς εἶδε, τίς ἤκουσε νεκρὸν κλαπέντα ποτέ, μάλιστα ἐσμυρνισμένον καὶ γυμνὸν καταλιπόντα τὰ ἐντάφια. Μὴ πλανᾶσθε, Ἰουδαῖοι, μάθετε τὰς ῥήσεις τῶν προφητῶν καὶ γνώσεσθε, ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ἀληθῶς ὁ λυτρωτὴς τοῦ κόσμου καὶ παντοδύναμος.[130]

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[127] And say, as it is prescribed for the Sundays. From here and till the end the scribe uses systematically the Arabic term "al-rasm" = "that is prescribed."
[128] The Fifth Week, for the fifth tone.
[129] And say the prayers according to what is prescribed, and after that say this stichos.
[130] In PaV, 178 instead of καταλιπόντα τὰ ἐντάφια (cod.) – καταλιπόντα καὶ ἐν τῷ τάφῳ τὰ

وقول[131]

[Ὁ διάκων·] Μή τις τῶν κατηχουμένων.

وقول[132]

[Εἰς τὰ ἅγια. Ἀλληλούϊα. Ἀλληλούϊα. Ἄρατε πύλας, οἱ ἄρχοντες, ὑμῶν καὶ ἐπάρθητε πύλαι αἰώνιοι, καὶ εἰσελεύσεται ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης. [Ps 23:7] *Δόξα Πατρί.*] Ἀλληλούϊα.
[Ὁ διάκων· Ἐν σοφίᾳ Θεοῦ πρόσχωμεν.
Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα Θεόν.]

وقول التمام[133]

[13]. Τῇ ΣΤ´ Κυριακῇ. [Ἦχος] πλάγιος β´.

الجمعه السادسه

قول ايضا في البدوا[134]

[*Τροπάριον.*] Ὁ Μονογενής.
Ψαλμός. [*Ἦχος πλάγιος β´*]. Τὸν λαόν σου, Κύριε, ἐταπείνωσαν καὶ τὴν κλη

fol. 52v

ρονομίαν σου ἐκάκωσαν,[135] χήραν καὶ προσήλυτον ἀπέκτειναν καὶ ὀρφανοὺς ἐφόνευσαν καὶ εἶπαν· οὐκ ὄψεται Κύριος. [Ps 93:5-7]
Στίχος. Θεὸς ἐκδικήσεων Κύριος, Θεὸς ἐκδικήσεων ἐπαῤῥησιάσατο. [Ps 93:1]

fol. 52v-53v

Ἀπόστολος πρὸς Ἐφεσίους. Ἀδελφοί, ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ πατὴρ τῆς δόξης, δώσῃ ὑμῖν πνεῦμα σοφίας... [Eph 1:17-21]
Ἀλληλούϊα. Ἦχος πλάγιος β´. Ὁ Θεός, τίς ὁμοιωθήσεταί σοι; Μὴ σιγήσῃς, μηδὲ καταπραΰνῃς, ὁ Θεός, ὅτι ἰδοὺ οἱ ἐχθροί σου ἤχησαν, καὶ οἱ μισοῦντές σε ἦραν κεφαλήν. [Ps 82:2-3] *Ἀλληλούϊα.*
Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Λουκᾶν. Τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ

fol. 54r-56r

ἐξελθὼν ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός, ἐθεάσατο τελώνην ὀνόματι Λευῒν καθήμενον ἐπὶ τὸ τελώνιον καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἀκολούθει μοι...[Luke 5:27-38]

وتقول على الرسم[136]

[*Ὁ διάκων·*] Σχολάσωμεν ἐκτενῶς. [Ἐν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν].

وتقول !الاسطيخن[137]

[*Εἰς σύναξιν*] *στιχηρόν.* Εἰπάτωσαν Ἰουδαῖοι, πῶς οἱ στρατιῶται ἀπώλεσαν τηροῦντες

ἐντάφια αὐτοῦ, instead of καὶ γνώσεσθε (cod.) – καὶ γνῶτε (tone plagal 1, Sunday, vespers, on "Lord, I have cried," anatolika). See Follieri III, 66.

[131] And say.

[132] And say.

[133] And say the dismissal.

[134] The Sixth Week. Say also in the beginning.

[135] In the codex: ἐκάκωσας.

[136] And you say according to what is prescribed.

[137] And you say the stichos.

τὸν βασιλέα; διατί γὰρ ὁ λίθος οὐκ ἐφύλαξε τὴν πέτραν, τὴν ζωήν; ἢ τὸν ταφέντα δότωσαν, ἢ ἀναστάντα προσκυνήσωσιν, κράζοντες σὺν ἡμῖν· δόξα τῷ πλήθει τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν σου, ὁ Θεός, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.[138]
[*Ὁ διάκων·*] Μή τις τῶν [κατηχουμένων].

وتقول[139]

[*Εἰς τὰ ἅγια.*] Ἀλληλούϊα. [Ἀλληλούϊα.] Ἄρατε πύλας, [οἱ ἄρχοντες, ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐπάρθητε πύλαι αἰώνιοι, καὶ εἰσελεύσετ[αι ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης]. [Ps 23:7] *Δόξα* [*Πατρί.* Ἀλληλούϊα.]
[*Ὁ διάκων·* Ἐν σοφίᾳ Θεοῦ πρόσχωμεν.
Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα Θεόν.]

fol. 56v

[14]. Τῇ Ζ΄ Κυριακῇ. Ἦχος πλάγιος γ΄.

الجمعه السابعه

تقول على رسم الاحد الدي تقدم[140]

[*Ὁ διάκων·*] Ὀρθοί.
[*Τροπάριον.*] Ὁ Μονογενὴς Υἱὸς καὶ Λόγος.
Τρισάγιος.[141]
Ψαλμός. Ἦχος πλάγιος γ΄. Ὁ Θεὸς μοῦ, ἃ ἐδίδαξάς με ἐκ νεότητός μου, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἀπαγγελῶ τὰ θαυμάσιά σου. Καὶ ὡς γήρου καὶ πρεσβείου, ὁ Θεός, μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς με. [Ps 70:17-18]
Στίχος. Ἐπὶ σοί, Κύριε, ἤλπισα, μὴ καταισχυνθείην εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. [Ps 30:2]

fol. 56v-57v

Ἀπόστολος πρὸς Ἐφεσίους. Ἀδελφοί, ὁ Θεὸς πλούσιος ἐν ἐλέει διὰ τὴν πολλὴν ἀγάπην αὐτοῦ ἣν ἠγάπησεν ἡμᾶς... [Eph 2:4-10]
Ἀλληλούϊα. Κεκράξομαι πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ὕψιστον, τὸν Θεὸν τὸν εὐεργετήσαντά με, ἐξαπέστειλεν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἔσωσέ με. [Ps 56:3-4] *Ἀλληλούϊα.*
Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ἰωάννην.

من انجيل يوحنا[142]

Τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ

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138 "... the sticheron can be traced in later musical sources ... (as) a sticheron anastasimon from the Oktoechos part of some sticheraria ... in Middle Byzantine tradition, this piece belongs to the group of stichera that Oliver Strunk labelled the "marginal" Oktoechos ... it should be noted that Εἰπάτωσαν Ἰουδαῖοι in the Ambrosian rite appears, in Latin translation, as the processional antiphon" (Troelsgård, "The use of single psalms-verses" 135-138). In PaV, 56 instead of τὴν πέτραν, τὴν ζωήν (cod.) – τὴν πέτραν τῆς ζωῆς, instead of ἢ ἀναστάντα προσκυνήσωσιν κράζοντες σὺν ἡμῖν· Δόξα τῷ πλήθει τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν σου, ὁ Θεός, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς (cod.) – ἢ ἀναστάντα προσκυνείτωσαν λέγοντες σὺν ἡμῖν· Δόξα τῷ πλήθει τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν σου, σωτὴρ ἡμῶν, δόξα σοι (tone 2, Sunday, orthros, at the Praises). See also Follieri I, 371.

139 And you say.

140 The Seventh Week, you say according to what was prescribed for the previous Sunday.

141 In the codex: Τρις γ΄ ἅγιος.

142 From the Gospel of John.

fol. 57v-59v

γάμος ἐγένετο ἐν Κανᾶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, καὶ ἦν ἡ Μήτηρ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐκεῖ...[John 2:1-11]

وتقول مثل الرسم[143]

['Ο διάκων·] Σχολάσωμεν [ἐκτενῶς]. ['Εν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν].

وتقول هذه الاستيخن[144]

[*Εἰς σύναξιν*] *στιχηρόν*. [*Ἦχος*] *πλάγιος γ´*. Ἡ μὲν ἡμέρα τοῦ πάθους σου, Χριστέ, εἰς νύκτα μεταβέβληται στερηθεῖσα ἡλίου, ἡ δὲ νὺξ τῆς ἐγέρσεως ὡς ἡμέρα λάμπει πιστοῖς λαμπρυνομένη τῇ ἐξόδῳ ἐπανόδῳ σοῦ τοῦ φωτοδότου. Ταύτης πρὸς ἀρχὰς ἡμᾶς ἑστώτας ἄγαγε πεφωτισμένους πρὸς τὸ τέλος, ἵνα φωτὶ φῶς προσλάβομέν σε, προσκυνοῦμεν τὸν ἀναστάν

fol. 60r

τα τριήμερον.[145]

وقسم الباقي[146]

['*Ο διάκων*· Μή τις τῶν κατηχουμένων.
Εἰς τὰ ἅγια. Ἀλληλούϊα. Ἀλληλούϊα. Ἄρατε πύλας, οἱ ἄρχοντες, ὑμῶν καὶ ἐπάρθητε πύλαι αἰώνιοι, καὶ εἰσελεύσεται ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης. [Ps 23:7] *Δόξα Πατρί*. Ἀλληλούϊα.
['*Ο διάκων*· Ἐν σοφίᾳ Θεοῦ πρόσχωμεν.
Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα Θεόν.]

[*15*]. *Τῇ Η´ Κυριακῇ*. [*Ἦχος*] *πλάγιος δ´*.

الجمعه الثامنه

تقول على الرسم[147]

[*Τροπάριον*.] Ὁ Μονογενής.
Τρισάγιος.[148]

وتقول[149]

Ψαλμός. Κύριε ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐπίβλεψε τοῦ ἀκοῦσαι τοῦ στεναγμοῦ τῶν πεπεδημένων. [Ps 101:20-21]
Στίχος. Κύριε, εἰσάκουσον της προσευχής μου, καὶ ἡ κραυγή μου πρὸς σὲ ἐλθέτω. [Ps101:2]

وهو التامن[150]

fol. 60r-61r

Ἀπόστολος πρὸς Ἐφεσίους. Ἀδελφοί, ὑμεῖς οἱ ποτὲ ὄντες μακρὰν ἐγενήθητε ἐγγὺς ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ...[Eph 2:13-18]

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143 And you say according to what is prescribed.
144 And you say this stichos.
145 See Follieri II, 43. This hymn did not enter the printed books.
146 And divide (wa-qassim) what remains.
147 The Eighth Week, you say according to what is prescribed.
148 In manuscript: τρισάγιος γ´.
149 And you say.
150 And this is the Eighth.

Ἀλληλούϊα. Ἦχος πλάγιος δ´. Δεῦτε ἀγαλλιασώμεθα τῷ Κυρίῳ, ἀλαλάξωμεν τῷ Θεῷ, τῷ σωτῆρι ἡμῶν. [Ps 94:1]

fol. 61r-62v

Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ἰωάννην. Ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς καὶ τοῖς ὄχλοις· ἐγώ εἰμι τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου... [John 8:12-20]

تقول مثل الرسم [151]

[*Ὁ διάκων·*] Σχολάσωμεν [ἐκτενῶς. Ἐν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν].

وتقول هذه الاسطيخن [152]

[*Εἰς σύναξιν στιχηρόν.*] Ὅτε τῷ ξύλῳ προσήλωσαν, Κύριε, οἱ παράνομοι Ἰουδαῖοι, ὅτε ὁ ἥλιος ὁρῶν σε τὰς ἀκτίνας ἀπέκρυψε φόβῳ,

fol. 63r

τότε καὶ τὴν πλευρὰν ἐκεντήθης πηγάζων, φιλάνθρωπε, ἀθανασίαν πιστοῖς καὶ ἐν τάφῳ κατῆλθες, ὡς ηὐδόκησας. Ἀνέστης πατήσας τὸν θάνατον τῇ σῇ θεότητι, διὸ καὶ ἡμεῖς βοῶμέν σοι· ὁ ἀναστὰς Θεὸς καὶ συνεγείρας πάντας ἡμᾶς, Κύριε, δόξα σοι.

وتصلي وتقول [153]

[*Ὁ διάκων·*] *Μή τις τῶν κατηχουμένων.*

وتقول [154]

[*Εἰς τὰ ἅγια.* Ἀλληλούϊα.] Ἀλληλούϊα. Β'. Ἄρατε πύλας, [οἱ ἄρχοντες, ὑμῶν καὶ ἐπάρθητε πύλαι αἰώνιοι, καὶ εἰσελεύσεται ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης]. [Ps 23:7] *Δόξα* [*Πατρί.* Ἀλληλούϊα].
[*Ὁ διάκων·* Ἐν σοφίᾳ Θεοῦ πρόσχωμεν.
Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα Θεόν.]

[16]. Εἰς ἅγιον ἀρχάγγελον.

[*Τροπάριον.*] Ἀρχάγγελε **Μιχαήλ**, τοῦ θρόνου τῆς μεγαλωσύνης οὐδέποτε χωρίζει, ἀλλ' ἐκά

fol. 63v

στους ἀεὶ παρίστας τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις λειτουργούς, τὴν οἰκουμένην εὐλόγει, καὶ πανταχοῦ δοξαζόμενος αἴτησον ἱλασμὸν ταῖς ψυχαῖς.
Δόξα Πατρί. Θεὸν ἐκ σοῦ σαρκωθέντα ἔγνωμεν, Θεοτόκε Παρθένε, αὐτὸν ἱκέτευε σωθῆναι τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν.
Τρισάγιος.[155]
Ψαλμός. Ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα, καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πυ

fol. 64r

ρὸς φλόγα. [Ps 103:4]
Στίχος. Εὐλόγει ἡ ψυχή μου τὸν Κύριον. [Ps 103:1]

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[151] You say according to that is prescribed.
[152] And you say this stichos.
[153] And pray and say.
[154] And you say.
[155] In codex: γ´ ἅγιος.

fol. 64r-66r

Ἀπόστολος πρὸς Ἑβραίους. Ἀδελφοί, πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως πάλαι ὁ Θεὸς λαλήσας τοῖς πατράσιν ἐν τοῖς προφήταις... [Heb 1:1-12]
Ἀλληλούϊα. Ἦχος πλάγιος δ΄. Ὁ περιπατῶν ἐπὶ πτερύγων ἀνέμων· ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πυρὸς φλόγα. [Ps 103:3-4]

fol. 66r-68v

Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαῖον. Τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς· ὅταν ἔλθῃ ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ... [Matt 25:31-46]

fol. 68v

[*Ὁ διάκων·*] *Σχολάσωμεν ἐκτενῶς.* [Ἐν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν].
[*Εἰς σύναξιν*] *στιχηρόν. Ἦχος β΄.* Ἐκ τῶν φοβερῶν καὶ ἀχράντων μυστηρίων **Μιχαὴλ** ὁ ἀρχάγγελος τὸ βραβεῖον ἐδέξατο, ὅτι τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ σωτῆρα τοῦ κόσμου ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἱκέτευε σὺν τῷ χορῷ

fol. 69r

τῶν ἀγγέλων, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς βοήσωμεν αὐτῷ· δόξα σοί, ἀρχηγὲ καὶ πρεσβευτὰ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν.[156]
[*Ὁ διάκων·*] *Μή τις τῶν κατηχουμένων.*
Δόξα Πατρί. Χαῖρε πάνσεμνε ἁγνή, ἡ τεκοῦσα τὸν Χριστόν, πρέσβευε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱκετῶν σου τοῦ σωθῆναι τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν.[157]
[*Ὁ διάκων·* Ἐν σοφίᾳ Θεοῦ πρόσχωμεν.
Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα Θεόν.]

2.2. Arabic interpolations (11th c.)

fol. 69v

بسم الاب والابن وروح القدس اله واحد
ولد حسن موسى حسن ابرهيم يوم السبت
عشية في ليلة الاحد المقدس في شهر امشير في ثاني
جمعة من الصوم المقدس سنة احدا واربعماية
جعله الله ولد مبارك معمور وانشاه نشؤ
صالح وجعله ابرك الاولاد واعظمهم بركه
بشفاعة السيدة وجميع القديسين ⲘⲨⲤⲐⲎⲦ.[158]

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[156] = Sin. gr. ΝΕ/ΜΓ 56+5 (6 June, Archangel, sticheron at the synaxis, tone 2); see Follieri I, 411. This hymn did not enter the printed books.

[157] = theotokion to a Prophet, fol. 5v, for Holy Women, fol. 31r.

[158] "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, One God. Ḥassan Mūsā Ḥassan Ibrāhīm was born on late Saturday night, into the holy Sunday morning, in the month of Amšīr, during the second week of the Holy Lent, in the year 401[of the Hegira = February A.D. 1011]. God made him a blessed and [Holy Spirit] inhabited child [= baptized] and created him as a good creation and the most blessed from the children and highly blessed.

ولد عبد المسيح بن حسن بن موسى حسن
يوم الاثنين في ثاني احد السلام في سابع جمعة
من الصوم المقدس في شهر برمهات سنة
خمسة وعشرين واربعماية جعله الله ولد مبارك
معمور وانشاه نشؤ صالح وجعله ابرك الاولاد (واعظمهم)
بركه بشفاعة السيدة وجميع القديسين. امين.[159]

fol. 46v

بسم الاب والابن وروح القدس اله واحد تاريخ رومي
ولد رومي بن حسن بن موسى في سبعه ايام شهر من [امشير] كيهك في سنه
تمان وعشرين
واربعمايه جعله الله ولد مبارك وجعله ولد للحياه وانشاه نشؤ صالح
بشفاعه السيده مرتمريم ام النور والده الخلاص وجميع القديسين امـ(ـين.)[160]
بسم الاب والابن وروح القدس اله واحد تاريخ روميه
ولدت روميه بنت حسن بن موسى القسيس يوم السبت
عشيه في ليله الاحد في شهر امشير سنه تلتين واربعمايـ(ـه)
جعلها الله ولد مبارك معمور. وجعلها ولد للحياه وانشاها
نشؤ صالح بشفاعه السيده ام النور والده الخلاص وجميع
القديسين امين والسبح لله دايما ابدا كما يستحق ويستوجـ(ـب.)[161]

Through the prayers of Our Lady and all the saints." The Greek letters, not easy to decifer, might be read as Μνήσθητι = "Remember." See Grumel, *Traité d'études* 254-255.

159 "'Abd al-Masiḥ, son of Ḥassan, son of Mūsā Ḥassan, was born on Monday of the Second Sunday of Peace, during the seventh week of the Holy Lent, in the month of Baramhāt, in the year 425 [of the Hegira = March-April A.D. 1034]. God made him a blessed and [Holy Spirit] inhabited child [=baptized] and created him as a good creation and the most blessed from the children and highly blessed. Through the prayers of Our Lady and all the saints. Amen."

160 "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, One God. Record of Rūmī. Rūmī Ḥassan Mūsā was born on the seventh day of the month Kyhak, in the year 428 [of the Hegira = December 3rd A.D. 1036]. God made him a blessed child and he made him a child for life, and created him as a good creation through the prayers of Our Lady Mary, Mother of Light, Mother of Salvation, and all the saints. Amen."

161 "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, One God. Record of Rūmiya. Rūmiya daughter of Ḥassan Mūsā, the priest, was born on late Saturday night, into Sunday morning in the month of Amšīr, year 430 [of the Hegira = January or February A.D. 1039]. God made her a blessed and [Holy Spirit] inhabited [=baptized] child for life, and He created her as a good creation through the prayers of Our Lady, Mother of Light, Mother of Salvation, and all the saints. Amen. And the praise to God is eternal forever, as it fair and worthy."

2.3. Greek interpolations (13th-15th c.)

fol. 9r

Προκείμενα ἀναστάσιμα. Ἦχος β′.
Ἐξεγέρθητι, Κύριε ὁ Θεός μου, ἐν προστάγματι, ᾧ ἐνετείλω, καὶ συναγωγὴ λαῶν κυκλώσει σε. [Ps 7:7-8]
Στίχος. Κύριε ὁ Θεός μου, ἐπὶ σοὶ ἤλπισα· σῶ

fol. 9v

σόν με, ἐκ πάντων τῶν διωκόντων με καὶ ῥῦσαί με. [Ps 7:2]
Ἦχος γ′. Εἴπατε ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν· ὅτι Κύριος ἐβασίλευσε, καὶ γὰρ κατώρθωσε τὴν οἰκουμένην, ἥτις οὐ σαλευθήσεται. [Ps 95:10]
Στίχος. Ἄισατε τῷ Κυρίῳ ᾆσμα καινόν, ᾄσατε τῷ Κυρίῳ πᾶσα ἡ γῆ. [Ps 95:1]
Ἦχος δ′. Ἀνάστα, Κύριε, βοήθησον ἡμῖν καὶ λύτρωσαι ἡμᾶς ἕνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματός σου. [Ps 43:27]
Στίχος. Ὁ Θεός, ἐν τοῖς ὠσὶν ἡμῶν ἠκούσαμεν, [καὶ] οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἀνήγγειλαν ἡμῖν. [Ps 43:2]
Ἦχος πλάγιος α′. Ἀνάσθητι, Κύριε ὁ Θεός μου, ὑψωθήτω ἡ χείρ σου, ὅτι σὺ βασιλεύεις εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος. [Ps 9:33; 145:10]
Στίχος. Ἐξομολο

fol. 45v

γήσομαί σοι, Κύριε, ἐν ὅλῃ καρδίᾳ μου, διηγήσομαι πάντα τὰ θαυμάσιά σου. [Ps 9:2]
Ἦχος πλάγιος β′. Κύριε, ἐξέγειρον τὴν δυναστείαν σου καὶ ἐλθὲ εἰς τὸ σῶσαι ἡμᾶς. [Ps 79:3]
Στίχος. Ὁ ποιμαίνων τὸν Ἰσραήλ, πρόσχες, ὁ ὁδηγῶν ὡσεὶ πρόβατον τὸν Ἰωσήφ. [Ps 79:2]
[*Ἦχος*] *βαρύς.* Ἀνάσθητι, Κύριε ὁ Θεός μου, ὑψωθήτω ἡ χείρ σου, μὴ ἐπιλάθῃ τῶν πενήτων σου εἰς τέλος. [Ps 9:33]
Στίχος. Ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι, Κύριε, ἐν ὅλῃ καρδίᾳ μου, διηγήσομαι πάντα τὰ θαυμάσιά σου. [Ps 9:2]
[*Ἦχος*] *πλάγιος δ′.* Βασιλεύσει Κύριος εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, ὁ Θεός σου, Σιών, εἰς γενεὰν καὶ γενεάν. [Ps 145:10]
Στίχος. Αἴνει, ἡ ψυχή μου, τὸν Κύριον· αἰνέσω Κύριον ἐν ζωῇ μου, ψαλῶ τῷ Θεῷ μου ἕως ὑπάρχω. [Ps 145:1-2]

fol. 46r

Φωταγωγικά τῶν ὀκτὼ ἤχων.
Ἦχος α′. Ὁ τὸ φῶς ἀνατέλλων, Κύριε, τὴν ψυχήν μου καθάρισον ἀπὸ πάσης ἁμαρτίας πρεσβείαις[162] τῶν ἀσωμάτων καὶ σῶσόν με.
Ἦχος β′. Τὸ φῶς σου τὸ ἀΐδιον ἐξαπόστειλον, Κύριε, καὶ φώτισον τὰ ὄμματα τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς καρδίας μου πρεσβείαις τοῦ Προδρόμου[163] καὶ σῶσόν με.

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[162] In PaV, 353: προστασίαις.
[163] In PaV, 353: προστασίαις τῶν ἀσωμάτων.

Ἦχος γ΄. Ἐξαπόστειλον τὸ φῶς σου, Χριστὲ ὁ Θεός, καὶ φώτισον τὴν καρδίαν μου δυνάμει τοῦ σταυροῦ σου[164] καὶ σῶσόν με.

fol. 47v

Ἦχος δ΄. Ὁ τὸ φῶς ἀνατέλλων τῷ κόσμῳ σου, τὴν ἐν σκότει ψυχήν μου ὑπάρχουσαν πρεσβείαις τῶν ἀποστόλων καταλάμψας φώτισον, ὁ Θεός μου,[165] καὶ σῶσόν με.
Πρεσβείαις τῆς Θεοτόκου ἁγιάσας φώτισον, ὁ Θεός μου, καὶ σῶσόν με.
Ἦχος πλάγιος α΄. Φωτοδότα Κύριε, ἐξαπόστειλον τὸ φῶς σου ταῖς πρεσβείαις τῶν ἁγίων[166] καὶ σῶσόν με.
Ἦχος πλάγιος β΄. Πρεσβείαις,[167] Κύριε, τῶν ἀσωμάτων σου καταύγασον ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν τὸ φῶς σου τὸ ἀΐδιον.
[Πρεσβείαις] τῆς τεκούσης σε κατάπεμψον ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν τὸ μέγα σου ἔλεος.

3. *Text analysis*

Among liturgical manuscripts *RNB gr. 44* is unique; therefore for the sake of "shifting and analyzing, classifying and comparing liturgical texts and units within and across the traditions," which is part of Anton Baumstark's method of "comparative liturgiology,"[168] we have selected several Lectionaries and Tropologia in Greek and Georgian, most of them unpublished, rooted in the tradition of Jerusalem and including common readings and hymns, correlated somehow to those preserved in *RNB gr. 44.* These sources are the following.

3.1. Sources

a. Greek sources

I. *Lectionaries*

I.1. Codex Sin. gr. 212 (9th c., *l* 846, U-*l*esk).[169] 114 fol. A Greek parchment Lectionary containing twenty-two Gospel and eight Epistle readings for the liturgical year according to the Jerusalem pericope order. The script of the codex is a similar uncial to that of the Evangeliarion of the Jerusalem type Sin. gr. 210+Sin. gr. NE/MΓ 12 (A.D. 861/62). The Arabic rubrics trans-

[164] In PaV, 353: προστασίαις τῶν ἀσωμάτων.
[165] In PaV, 353: ἀπὸ πάσης ἁμαρτίας καθάρισον, προστασίαις τῶν ἀσωμάτων.
[166] In PaV, 353: καὶ φώτισον τὴν καρδίαν μου, προστασίαις τῶν ἀσωμάτων.
[167] In PaV, 353: προστασίαις Κύριε, τῶν ἀσωμάτων, κατάπεμψον ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν τὸ φῶς σου τὸ ἀΐδιον.
[168] R. Taft, "Comparative Liturgy Fifty Years after Anton Baumstark (d. 1948): A Reply to Recent Critics," *Worship* 73 (1999) 521-540, esp. 523.
[169] K. Aland, *Kurzgefaßte Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (= Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung 1, Berlin 1994) 269; D. Galadza, "Two Greek, Ninth-Century Sources of the Jerusalem Lectionary: Sinai Gr. 212 and Sinai Gr. N.E. MΓ 11," *BBGG*, III-11 (2014) 81-90.

late the Greek ones.[170] It includes eight resurrectional Gospels, associated with the eight musical tones, Gospels for vespers of the Dormition of the Theotokos, common propers, and Sts. Stephen and John. This is followed by the Epistle readings for common propers. Responsorial psalms and alleluia verses are included for several commemorations.

I.2. Codex Sin. gr. NE/MΓ 11 (9th c., *l* 2213, U-*l*sel).[171] 125 fol. A Greek parchment Lectionary of Gospel readings according to the Jerusalem order. It contains fifty Gospel and two Epistle pericopes for different periods of the year, including common readings for Ascetics, the Dedication of a Church, Apostles, Prophetes, Hierarchs, Hegoumens, Holy Women, Archangels.

I.3. Codex Sin. gr. NE/MΓ 8 (10th c., *l* 2212, U-*l*+a sel).[172] 46 fol. The fragment of this codex includes seven commemorations, with hymns, Gospel and Epistle readings, from the first half of the Hagiopolite liturgical year – for 26, 27, 28 December, 2 February, Meatfare Sunday, and the First and Third Sundays of Lent. Among the Greek Lectionaries it is the only one with an Old Testament reading at the Eucharistic synaxis on the First Sunday of Lent.

I.4. Codex Sin. arab. 116 (A.D. 995/6, *l* 2211, U-*l*sel).[173] 207 fol. A bilingual Greek-Arabic Gospel.[174] As we learn from the colophons, it is written both in Greek and Arabic by John, son of Victor of Damietta, monk and presbyter on Sinai, in 995/996.[175] The codex, copied on bombycin paper, begins with the readings for an evening water blessing and the Easter cycle (John); then follow the cycles from Pentecost until the Exaltation of the Cross (Matthew), the next cycle until the Nativity of Christ (Mark), and the last from Theophany until Meatfare Sunday (Luke). Also there are Gospels for different commemorations of the year (Nativity, Lent, Holy Week), eight Resurrectional Gospels for matins, pericopes for June, August, September, and common commemorations.[176]

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[170] Harlfinger, "Beispiele der Maiuscula" 470. A lower layer from the 5th c. contains the psalms. See C. R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes* (Leipzig 1900-1909) 1-447, 3-1245.

[171] Aland, *Kurzgefaßte Liste* 356; Galadza, "Two Greek, Ninth-Century Sources" 90-103.

[172] Aland, *Kurzgefaßte Liste* 356; D. Galadza, "A Greek Source of the Jerusalem Lectionary: Sinai Gr. N. E. MΓ 8 (10th c.)," *Synaxis katholike. Beiträge zu Gottesdienst und Geschichte der fünf altkirchlichen Patriarchate für H. Brakmann zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. D. Atanassova, T. Chronz (= Orientalia – patristica – oecumenica 6, Wien, Münster 2014) 213-228.

[173] Aland, *Kurzgefaßte Liste* 356.

[174] G. Garitte, "Un évangeliaire grec-arabe du Xe siècle (Cod. Sin. arab. 116)," *Studia codicologica*, ed. K. Treu (= Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 124, Berlin 1977) 207-225.

[175] Harlfinger, "Beispiele der Maiuscula" 464, 474.

[176] Other Greek Hagiopolite Lectionaries are listed here: Galadza, "The Jerusalem Lectionary" 181-199.

II. *Hymnaria*

II.1. Codex Sin. gr. NE/MΓ 56+5 (9th c.). 5+240 fol. A Greek parchment Tropologion with some Arabic remarks. Based on the "Anastasis" tradition, as its title says in Greek ("With God, the Tropologion of all holy feasts of the whole year established by the saint [Church of] the Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ [in Jerusalem]"),[177] it has a specific local calendar, influenced by the region of Egypt where the codex was in use,[178] as we learn from the remark in Arabic on the last folio of the twenty third tetradion:

> And after that, on vespers the Gospel according John should be read, i.e. διαθήκη, on Glory. But before this Gospel, Egyptians read Ἄρχοντες etc. and after that, σύνθεμα and κάθισμα, and only after the above-mentioned Gospel.[179]

It represents a new redaction of the hymnal in comparison with the Old Iadgari[180] and preserves 73 rubrics with the chants for the liturgy of the hours and Eucharist from Christmas Eve until the commemoration of Righteous Joseph of Arimathea (12 June).

II.2. Codex Sin. gr. NE/MΓ 4 (9th-10th c.).[181] 96 fol. A Greek parchment Tropologion. The hymns for July, August, and October are preserved. This Hagiopolite source also contains clear traces of local Egyptian traditions, for example, the liturgy at the relics of St. Athanasios of Clysma (a village in the northeast Egypt, at the southern terminus of the Suez Canal) in July, the commemoration of St. Aiglon the Hegoumen (13 August),[182] and of the Three Youths (4 July instead of Hagiopolite 17 December).[183]

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[177] A. Nikiforova, "The Oldest Greek Tropologion Sin. Gr. NE/MΓ 56+5: A New Witness to the Liturgy of Jerusalem from outside Jerusalem with First Edition of the Text," *OC* 98 (2015) 138-173.

[178] T. Chronz, A. Nikiforova, "Beobachtungen zum ältesten Tropologion-Codex Sinaiticus graecus 56+5," *Synaxis katholike. Beiträge zu Gottesdienst und Geschichte der fünf altkirchlichen Patriarchate für H. Brakmann zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. D. Atanassova, T. Chronz (= Orientalia – patristica – oecumenica 6, Wien, Münster 2014) 147-174.

[179] The Arabic text was read by Father Ugo Zanetti. See A. Nikiforova, "Египетский след в Иерусалимском тропологии Sin. gr. NE/MΓ 56+5," *Вестник СПбГУ* 4 (2016) 40-54, esp. 49-50.

[180] L. Khevsuriani, "Иадгари," *Православная энциклопедия*, 20 (Moscow 2009) 419-424.

[181] Nikiforova, "The oldest Greek Tropologion ..." 139.

[182] This rare commemoration of the monk from Egypt is witnessed in other Greek menologions by the dates 16th, 17th, 21th of August. A mosaic, found at Khirbet Makhrum, in the ruins of the monastery of St. Theognius saved an inscription: τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Αἴγλωνος ἡγουμένου (G. Garitte, *Le calendrier palestino-géorgien du Sinaiticus 34 (Xe siècle)* (= SH 30, Bruxelles 1958) 302).

[183] "The Three Youths became associated with the cult of martyrs, and soon their own relics and cult centers in Egypt and Mesopotamia became popular. Theophilus, archbishop of Alexandria in the early fifth century, is told to have built a shrine to honor the relics of the three youths." See *Daniel*. A commentary by C. A. Newsom with B. W. Breed (Louisville, Kentucky 2014) 122.

b. Georgian sources

I. *Lectionaries*

I.1. Georgian Lectionary (= GL). The Georgian translation of the Jerusalem Lectionary represents the Hagiopolite liturgical development from 5th to 8th centuries.[184] It contains readings, responsorial psalms, and alleluia verses, as well as the hymns for fixed and moveable feasts. The calendar begins on Christmas Eve (24 December) and ends on the day of the Dedication of the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (23 December). It has incorporated the cycles of Lent and Easter, and an appendix for common propers.

I.2. Lectionary Sin. geo. O 30 and *Sin. geo. O 38* (A.D. 979). 161+141 fol. A tetraevangelion formed from two manuscripts, with the liturgical appendix,[185] copied on Sinai by two scribes in the same year.[186] The first part, including the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, was copied by Ezra, and the second part, including the Gospels of Luke and John, by John Zosime, who provided an index of the Gospels.[187] The Lectionary begins with the Nativity of Christ (25 December) and contains the readings for all the feasts of the year, including both movable and fixed cycles. Also, there are pericopes for the feasts of the Theotokos, common propers, Sunday matins, all Sundays of the year, and various services from the Euchologion.

I.3. Codex Sin. geo. O 53 (9th-10th c.). 86 fol. A part of a parchment liturgical collection, written at St. Sabas Monastery by Ambakum Turmaneuleli, as we learn from the colophon on folio 35. It includes the liturgy of St. James and the liturgical formularies for weekday celebrations, common propers for Martyrs, Epistle and Gospel pericopes, preceded by prokeimena for the five Sundays after the Pentecost, and prokeimena and alleluias for Sundays according to the eight modes, prokeimena with stichoi for matins, four Resurrectional Gospels for Sunday matins, and "troparia for every weekday matins and vespers."[188]

I.4. Codex Sin. geo. O 54 (10th c.).[189] 186 fol. A parchment liturgical collection, containing the liturgies of St. James and the Presanctified Gifts,

[184] K. Kekelidze, *Иерусалимский Канонарь VII века* (Tiflis 1912); M. Tarchnischvili, *Le Grand Lectionnaire de l'Église de Jérusalem (Ve-VIIIe siècle)* (= CSCO 189-189, 204-205, Scriptores Iberici 9-10, 13-14, Louvain 1959-1960).

[185] Sin. geo. O 38, fol. 101-144.

[186] G. Garitte, *Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens littéraires du mont Sinaï* (= CSCO 165, Subsidia 9, Louvain 1956) 69-71, 144-152.

[187] This index (fol. 101-115) was edited: G. Garitte, "Un index géorgien des lectures évangéliques selon l'ancien rite de Jérusalem," *Mus* 85/3-4 (1972) 337-398.

[188] *Description of Georgian Manuscripts. Sinai Collection*, ed. R. Gvaramia, El. Metreveli, C. Tshankievi, L. Khevsuriani, L. Dzhgamaia, 3 (Tbilisi 1987) 55-58.

[189] B. Outtier, "Un témoin partiel du lectionnaire géorgien ancien (Sinaï géorgien 54)," *Bedi Kartlisa* 39 (1981) 76-88, esp. 88; *Description of Georgian Manuscripts* 58-67.

litanies and prayers for the dismissal according to the calendar of Jerusalem, selected euchological material (such as the blessing of the waters on Theophany, of the candles on the Hypapante, prayers for the foot-washing rite on Holy Thursday, etc.), as well as readings for the Eucharistic liturgy for the main days of the church year, beginning from Annunciation and finishing with the feast of Archangels (14 November). At the end of the manuscript there are common propers for eight Sundays, for the deceased, and the rite of the monastic tonsure. Bernard Outtier suggests that it could be a "missel de voyage" because of the "potpourri" of the contents and small dimensions of the codex.

I.5. Codex Sin. geo. NF 58 (9th-10th c.).[190] 88 fol. An unpublished codex, consisting of two separate parts. It provides for Eucharist throughout the whole year and contains the liturgies of St. James and of the Presanctified Gifts, Epistle and Gospel pericopes for Saturday and Sunday, common propers for the Holy Cross, Virgin Mary, Saints, Deceased, the annual calendar, and a burial service.

II. *Hymnarion*

The Old Iadgari[191] is a Georgian translation of the ancient Jerusalem Tropologion. It includes poetic texts for the whole liturgical year, resurrection and penitential troparia for the eight musical modes, hymns for general propers,[192] and witnesses to liturgical development in Palestine in the 4th-8th centuries. The calendar opens with the texts for Annunciation (25 March), and then proceeds to the hymnography for the Nativity of Christ (25 December).

3.2. Propers

a. The choice of propers

Common propers can be seen in a group of Greek, Georgian, and Arabic manuscripts of early Hagiopolite origin.[193] In the Georgian Lectionary

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[190] *Liturgia Ibero-Graeca Sancti Iacobi. Editio-translatio-retroversio-commentarii. The Old Georgian Version of the Liturgy of Saint James*, ed. L. Khevsuriani, M. Shanidze, M. Kavtaria, T. Tseradze. *La Liturgie de Saint Jacques*. Rétroversion grecque et comm. par S. Verhelst (= Jerusalemer Theologisches Forum 17, Münster 2011) 18-19.

[191] The Old Iadgari was edited from Georgian manuscripts of 9th-10th c. of St. Sabas and St. Catherine's monasteries. See E. Metreveli, C. Tshankievi, L. Khevsuriani, *The Oldest Iadgari* (Tbilisi 1980).

[192] L. Khevsuriani, "Иадгари," *Православная энциклопедия* 20 (Moscow 2009) 419-424; A. Wade, "The Oldest Iadgari: The Jerusalem Tropologion – 4th to 8th centuries," 30 Years after the Publication, ed. D. Atanassova, T. Chronz, *Synaxis katholike. Beiträge zu Gottesdienst und Geschichte der fünf altkirchlicher Patriarchate für H. Brakmann zum 70. Geburtstag* (= orientalia – patristica – oecumenica 6.1, Wien, Münster 2014) 717-750.

[193] Tarchnischvili, *Le Grand Lectionnaire* II: 60-88; Verhelst, *Le lectionnaire de Jérusalem*

and the Old Iadgari, for many feasts, hymns to "all the Hierarchs," "all the Prophets," "all the Venerables," etc. are prescribed. In other words, the priest or the chanters are referred to the texts of the common propers, which are borrowed from the liturgies of major Christian saints. Thus, for Hierarchs the readings and the hymns from the celebration of St. Basil the Great (1 January) are used, for Venerables — from St. Anthony's (17 January), for Martyrs — from St. Theodor's (first Saturday of the Lent), for Apostles — from St. Athenogen's.[194] As sanctoral commemorations increased, the number of liturgical texts remained small, and so the same chants were sung and the same readings were read for different saints.[195] With the lapse of time, the sets of the common propers continued to appear in the Lectionaries (Sin. geo. O 38, Sin. arab. 116) or to be used in the books, created for parishes, where the eucharistic liturgy was performed only on Sundays and special occasions (*RNB gr. 44*).

The choice of common propers is more or less similar in all the manuscripts known to us. The main common propers are those for Martyrs, a Prophet / Prophets, Venerable ones, Hierarchs, Apostles, the Dedication of the Church, and an Archangel /Archangels. Optional texts are common propers for Virgin Mary (GL, Sin. geo. O 38, Sin. arab. 116), for Deceased (Sin. gr. 212, Sin. geo. O 38, Sin. gr. NE/MΓ11, Sin. arab. 116), for the Holy Cross (GL, Sin. geo. O 38, Sin. gr. NE/MΓ11, Sin. arab. 116), for imperors (GL, Sin. geo. O 38). From the table you see, how the propers from *RNB gr. 44* correlated to the propers in other Hagiopolite Lectionaries.

RNB gr. 44. 9th c.	Sin. gr. 212. 9th c.[196]	Sin. gr. NE/ MΓ 11. 9th c.[197]	GL[198]	Sin. geo. O 38. A.D. 979[199]	Sin. arab. 116. A.D. 995/6
For Martyrs	+	+	+ (§1475-1492)	+	+
For a Prophet	+ (Prophets)	+ (Prophets)	+ (Prophets, § 1469-1474)	+	+

152-158, 160-161, 172-173, 190-197, 214, 217, 223, 229-230; Galadza, *Worship of the Holy City* 281-285.

[194] L. Khevsuriani, *Структура древнейшего грузинского Тропология* (Tbilisi 1984) 100-113.

[195] Ibid. 101, 112-113. Among the new finds of Sinai more Greek evidence for the common texts is preserved, namely, in Sin. gr. NE/MΓ 24 (9th-10th c.), a fragment for third and fourth tones of a collection of common kathismata for Martyrs, Holy Women, Apostles, Prophets, Venerables and Hierarchs, Deceased, Three Youths, Virgin Mary, and anastasima, mystika, theotokia troparia. It is organized according to the eight-mode system of Oktoechos.

[196] Galadza, "Two Greek, Ninth-Century Sources" 83-90.

[197] Ibid., 90-102.

[198] Tarchnischvili, *Le Grand Lectionnaire* II: 61-74.

[199] Garitte, "Un index géorgien" 376-395.

For Venerable ones	+	+ (Ascetics)	+ (Righteous, Blessed and Confessors) §1508-1522	+	+
For Hierarchs	+	+	+ §1493-1507	+	+
For Apostles	+	+	+ §1455-1468	+	+
For the Dedication of the Church	+ (of Anastasis)	+	+ (and Foundation) §1528-1559	+	+
For Holy Women	+	+	—		+
For a Holy Archangel (Arab. "Michael")	+ (Archangels, Arab. "Michael")	+ (Archangels)	—	+	+ (Arab. "Michael")
For 8 Sundays	—	—	—	—	—

The scribe of *RNB gr. 44* uses three specific propers: for the Archangel Michael, for Holy Women, and for eight Sundays of the Oktoechos. The common liturgy of an Archangel, supplied with the Arabic note "Michael" (the same note we find in Sin. gr. 212[200] and in Sin. arab. 116[201] for this proper), is obviously connected to the Archangel Michael, that witnesses to his special veneration in the region where these codices were used.

The cult of Archangel Michael was a distinctive aspect of the liturgy of Egypt[202] as well as the Ethiopian,[203] Syro-Jacobite,[204] and Maronite traditions.[205] We lack evidence concerning his cult in Palestine. A great number of prayers to the Archangel Michael have been preserved in Greek papyri from Egypt,[206] as well as in a Coptic Antiphonarium of the 9th century.[207] In Coptic legends the Archangel Michael was presented as a military and political leader of the nation, and as an effective doctor — the ill received healing while spending the night in his church.[208] The veneration of the

200 Arabic marginal note: Michael on fol. 100v (Galadza, "Two Greek, Ninth-Century Sources" 89).

201 Arabic: Legitur ad Michaelum angelum (Garitte, "Un évangeliaire grec-arabe" 222).

202 U. Zanetti, *Les lectionnaires coptes annuels, Basse-Égypte* (= Publications de L'institut orientaliste de Louvain 33, Louvain-la-Neuve 1985) 44; Nikiforova, "The Oldest Greek Tropologion" 165-166.

203 *Le Synaxaire ethiopien*, pub. et trad. par I. Guidi (= PO I, Paris 1904) 584.

204 Garitte, *Le calendrier palestino-géorgien* 244-245.

205 *Un ancien calendrier de l'Église maronite par Gebraïl ibn al-Qola'ï*, ed. et trad. par R. Griveau (= PO X-4, Paris 1915) 352.

206 *Catalogue des Papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens*, ed. J.von Haelst (Paris 1976) 256, 274, 704, 764.

207 M. Cramer, M. Krause, *Das koptische Antiphonar* (Münster 2008) 25, 92-97, 100-103.

208 J. P. Roland, *Der Erzengel Michael, Arzt und Feldherr* (Leiden 1977) 80-86, 109-112.

Archangel by Copts, who commemorated him every month and on the sixth of June (= 12 Ba'unah), was comparable to that of the Virgin Mary.[209] In the old Greek Tropologion Sin. gr. ΝΕ/ΜΓ 56+5, influenced by Egyptian regional traditions, a great patronal feast (ἡ πανήγυρις) of the Archangel Michael was preserved for this date. And the practice of his two-day celebration (rubrics #70 and 71) in the Tropologion is comparable to his three-day celebration, lasting from the sixth of June until the eighth, in one Coptic-Arabic calendar.[210]

The propers for Holy Women, not commonly found in Hagiopolite sources, was popular among Copts, who had two types of common liturgies to Holy Women: for Mothers (Elisabeth, Anna) and for all other Virgins, Widows, Martyrs, and Nuns.[211] So, the propers for the Archangel Michael and for Holy Women, present in Sin. gr. 212 and Sin. arab. 116 in addition to *RNB gr. 44*, can be seen as indicators of a liturgical tradition, tied to the region of Egypt.

The propers for the eight Sundays in eight tones[212] in *RNB gr. 44* are very unique. These propers seem to be a selection for those who celebrated Sunday Eucharist every week, but had neither a Lectionary nor an Oktoechos at their fingertips.

b. The structure of propers

The structure of the propers in *RNB gr. 44* correlates to the main liturgy before the Byzantinization of the Middle Eastern Patriarchates of Jerusalem and Antioch – that is, the liturgy of St. James.[213] Its structural elements, as they are present in the codex, are the following: 1) Hymn at the entrance: troparion (τροπάριον) + Glory (δόξα) + theotokion or triadikon for saints propers / "Only begotten Son" (Ὁ Μονογενὴς Υἱός) + Glory (δόξα) + refrain for eight Sundays, 2) Trisagion (τρισάγιος), 3) Responsorial psalmody, i.e. psalm (ψαλμός) and stichos (στίχος), 4) Epistle reading, 5) Alleluia (ἀλλελούϊα), 6) Gospel reading, 7) Litany (Σχολάσωμεν ἐκτενῶς. Ἐν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν), 8) Sticheron at the synaxis (στιχηρὸν εἰς σύναξιν), 9) Dismissal (Μή τις τῶν κατηχουμένων), 10) Hymn for the transfer of the holy

[209] M. Esbroeck, "Michael the archangel, saint," *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, vol. 5 (New York 1991) 1616-1620.

[210] *Les Ménologes des Evangeliaires coptes-arabes*, ed. et trad. par F. Nau (= PO X-2, Paris 1915) 204.

[211] Zanetti, *Les lectionnaires coptes* 46-47, 237-240, 252; De Fenoyl, *Le Sanctoral copte* (Beyrouth 1960) 21.

[212] S. Frøyshov, "The Early Development of the Liturgical Eight-Mode System in Jerusalem," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 51 (2007) 139-178, esp. 162-164.

[213] Mercier, *La Liturgie de saint Jacques* 115-256; *Liturgia Ibero-Graeca* 188-192.

gifts: nekrosimon + Glory (δόξα) + theotokion / triadikon for saints propers or Ps 23:7 + Alleluia for eight Sundays, 11) Creed (Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα Θεόν).[214] We present them in this table.

	Martyrs	Prophet	Venerables	Hierarchs	Apostles	Women	Dedication	Sunday 1	Sunday 2	Sunday 3	Sunday 4	Sunday 5	Sunday 6	Sunday 7	Sunday 8	Archangel
Hymn at the entrance.																
"Only begotten Son"+Glory+refrain								+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Troparion+ Theotokion + Glory.	l[215]	+	+	+	+	+										+
Troparion+Glory+ Triadikon.							+									
Trisagion	l									+				+	+	+
Responsorial psalmody	l	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Epistle reading	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Alleluia	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Gospel reading	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Litany	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+		+	
Hymn at the synaxis	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Dismissal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+
Hymn for the transfer of gifts																
Nekrosimon +Glory+Theotokion.	+	+	+?	+	+?	+										
Nekrosimon +Glory+ Triadikon.							+									
Theotokion+Glory.																+
Ps 23:7 + Alleluia.								+	+	+			+			
Creed[216]	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	

One can find a similar structure in Sin. geo. O 53 (9th-10th c.), in Sin. geo. O 54 (10th c.), and in Sin. gr. NE / ΜΓ 8 (10th c.). Thus, the formula of

[214] Leeb, *Die Gesänge* 37-124; Galadza, *Worship of the Holy City* 156-181.

[215] l = lacuna.

[216] One can probably explain the lack of the chants for the communion (see Leeb, *Die Gesänge im Gemeindegottesdienst* 124-136) by the existence of a special section in the original codex for them.

the liturgy for the commemoration of Massacre of the Innocents by King Herod (28 December) in Sin. gr. NE/MΓ 8 consists of troparia for the entrance, at the synaxis, for the trisagion, responsorial psalmody, an Epistle reading, Alleluia, and a Gospel reading.[217] For weekday liturgies Monday through Saturday in Sin. geo. O 53, we find a responsorial chant (psalmuni-dasadebeli), Epistle reading, Alelluia, Gospel pericope, hymns for washing of the hands (xeltabanisay), and for the Great Entrance (sic'midisay). In Sin. geo. O 54, we find an oxitay, psalmuni-dasadebeli, Epistle reading (from the Tuesday to Saturday after Easter a reading from Acts is added), Alleluia, Gospel pericope, xeltabanisay and sic'midisay hymns. This structure differs from GL, which also provides analogical formulae, but mostly in incipits, referring the readers to another sources. With *RNB gr. 44* one could perform a Eucharistic liturgy of the Hagiopolite rite throughout the whole year without consulting other books, exept for the text of the liturgies of St. James and the Presanctified Gifts.

3.3. The readings and their origin

RNB gr. 44 contains a whole set of proper texts for the Eucharist, with Epistle and Gospel readings, preceeded by the responsorial chant and crowned with the alleluia (ἀλλελούϊα).[218] Responsorial psalmody can go by different names, in Hagiopolite Lectionaries,[219] e.g., πρόψαλμα (Sin. gr. 212, Rahmani ordo),[220] ὑπόψαλμα (Life of St. Melany the New,[221] homilies of St. John the Crysostom,[222] Constitutiones Apostolorum[223]), ἐπακουστά (Sin. gr. NE/MΓ 83), dasdebeli (GL, Old Iadgari), προκείμενον (in Constantinopolitain sources),[224] and according to Daniel Galadza "this variety has led some to hypothesize that specific terms have proper geographical connections."[225] In *RNB gr. 44* (ψαλμός) and stichos (στίχος) are used for the responsorial chant psalm, as in GL.

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[217] Galadza, "A Greek Source" 215-216.

[218] The complete list of responsorial psalms and alleluia you find in "Addenda. Index biblicus."

[219] J. Mateos, *La célébration de la parole dans la liturgie byzantine. Étude historique* (= OCA 191, Rome 1971) 7-13, 133-134.

[220] Ordo quo episcopus urbem inire debet, ed. I. Rahmani, *Studio Syriaca*. Fasc. III (Charfeh 1908) 1-4; Galadza, "Two Greek, Ninth-Century Sources" 104-107.

[221] Vie de Sainte Mélanie 47, éd D.Gorce (= SC 90, Paris 1962) 216-217.

[222] In Ps 144, 1 (*PG* 55, 464), In 1 ad Cor 36, 5 (*PG* 61, 313), In Ps 117, 1 (*PG* 55, 328).

[223] Constitutiones Apostolorum II, 57, 6; Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum 1 (Padeborn 1905) 161.

[224] Mateos, *La célébration de la parole* 12.

[225] Galadza, *Worship of the Holy City* 162-170, esp. 162.

Comparing the whole collection of biblical readings in *RNB gr. 44* with GL, or Sin. gr. NE/MΓ 8 (10th c.), we note that the Old Testament reading is absent, and the whole repertoire of readings is reduced from a variety of responsorial psalms and pericopes to one per proper. The collection of the Hagiopolite Epistle readings, preserved in *RNB gr. 44*, is a rare piece of evidence, and the most complete among known Greek sources.

a. Gospel readings

The readings in *RNB gr. 44* reflect different aspects of a saint life in Christ, already foreseen in Gospels. Thus, the deeds of the Apostles, Martyrs and Venerable ones are described in the chapter in which Jesus sends out the Twelve (Matt 10:1-10, Matt 10:16-22, Matt 10:37-42), of Hierarchs in the Good Shepherd passage (John 10:1-10), and of Holy Women in the Parable of the Ten Virgins (Matt 25:1-13). For Archangels, the pericope is the Sheep and the Goats at the Last Judgement (Matt 25:31-46), and for the Dedication of the Church, "On this rock I will build My church"(Matt 16:13-19).

	RNB gr. 44. 9th c.	Sin. gr. NE/ MΓ 11. 9th c.	Sin. gr. 212. 9th c.	GL	Sin. geo. O 38. A.D. 979[226]	Sin. arab. 116. A.D. 995/6
For Martyrs						
Psalm+ stichos	Lacuna		Ps 33:10 / Ps 67:36	Ps 115:6 et 1 / Ps 67:36 et 27 / Ps 33:10 et 2/ Ps 144:10 et 19/ Ps 15:3 et 1 / Ps 100:6 et 3 (§1471)		
Epistle	Heb 11:34 - 40		Rom 5:1-5[227]	Rom 8:10-18 (§1477) / Rom 8:18-27 (§1478) / Rom 8:28-39 (§1479) / 2 Cor 4, 7-15 (§211) / Eph 6:10-18 (§4181) / Heb 10:32-39 (§1350) / Heb 11:1-31(§509) / Heb 12:1-11(§166)		

226 Garitte, "Un index géorgien" 377-382.
227 Galadza, "Two Greek, Ninth-Century Sources" 83-90.

Gospel	*Matt 10:16-22*[228]	*Matt 10:16-22* / Matt 10: 23-33 / Mark 13:9-13 / Luke 21:12-19	*Matt 10:16-22* / Matt 10, 24-33	*Matt 10:16-22 (§212)* / Matt 10:24 (§394) / Mark 8:31-9:1 (§1487) / Mark 10:28-31 (§1317) / Mark 13:3-13 (§1260) / Luke 12:4-12 (§430) / Luke 21:12-19 (§1491) / John 15:20 (§1492, incipit)	*Matt 10:16-22* / Matt 10:24-31 / Matt 10:32-42 / Mark 8:31-9:1 / Mark 13:9-13/ Luke 9, 23-26 / Luke 12, 8-12[229] / Luke 21:12-19 / John 15:20-16:4	*Matt 10:16-23* / Matt 10:24-33
For Prophet						
Psalm+ stichos	*Ps 104:15* et 1		*Ps 104:15*	Ps 48:4 et 5 (§1496)		
Epistle	*Heb 11:32* (incipit)	1 Cor 12:27-13:8a	1 Cor 12:27-13:3 / Rom 5:1-5	Rom 11:1-12 (§1470) / *Heb 11:32-40* (§149)		
Gospel	Matt 10:37 (incipit)	Luke 11:43-51 / Matt 5:1-16	Matt 5:17-24 / Matt 5:13-16 / Matt 11:25-30	Matt 23:34-24:1 (§991) / Luke 11:49-12:2(§ 1021) / Luke 13:31-35 (§617, 1065)	Matt 5:17-24 / Matt 23:34-39 / Luke 4:14-30 / Luke 11:49-12:2 / the Gospel[230]	Matt 5:17-24 / Matt 5:1-16
For Venerables						
Psalm+ stichos	*Ps 96:10 et 11*		Ps 96:10	Ps 33:20 et 36:18 / Ps 102:17 et 1/ Ps 111:7 et 3 (§1508)		
Epistle	Gal 5:22 – 6:2			Rom 15:14-33 (§1642) / 2 Cor 8:1-9 (§ 1511) / 2 Cor 10:1-6 (§1512) / Heb 6:1-12 (§1313) / 2 Tim 1:16 – 2, 15 (§ 980) / 2 Tim 4, 1-8 (§ 49)		

228 We marked the coincidences in italics. The same Gospel is read for Martyrs (St. George, St. Theodore) by Copts (*Le Sanctoral copte* 30, 31).

229 The beginning of this pericope in the codex is ოწყო პირვე ("he began first") (Luke 12:1). The next sentence could be either Luke 12: 4, or Luke 12: 8. The end of this pericope is correct (Luke 12: 12). Instead of ოწყო პირვე Garitte read the initium as ოწყო პეტრე ("And Petrus began") and determined it to be Mark 10: 28 in a footnote (Garitte, "Un index géorgien" 379).

230 The manuscript has: ე სახარებაჲ ("the fifth Gospel"), without any text.

Gospel	*Matt 10:37-42*	Matt 11:25-29 / *Matt 10:37-42*	Matt 5:1-12a	Matt 13:36-43(§1660) / *Matt 10:32-42* (§150, 1113) / Mark 9:33-41(§1519) / Luke 10:21-24 (§1520) / Luke 12:32-44(§1371)	Matt 5:1-16 / *Matt 10:32-42 vel 37-42*[231]/ Mark 9:33-41 / Luke 6:20-36 / Luke 12:32-44	*Matt 10: 37-42* / Matt 11: 25-30
For Hierarchs						
Psalm+ stichos	*Ps 131:9* et 16			*Ps 131:9* et 1 / Ps 91:13 et 14 / Ps 36:39 et Ps 4:9 (§1493)		
Epistle	*Heb 4:14 – 5:6*	1 Cor 12:27-13, 8a	*Heb 4:14-5:6*	Rom 15:14-33 (§1642) / Eph 4:1-16 (§128) / Cor 1:23 –2:2 (§1498) / 1 Thes 5:12-28 (§1653) / Heb 13:7-16 (§70) / Heb 13:17-21 (§1426)		
Gospel	*John 10:1-10*	*John 10:1-10*+ John 10:11-16	*John 10:11-16*	Matt 9, 4 (incipit, §1502) / Matt 13:44-52 (§71) / Matt 18:15-20 (§1504) / *John 10:11-16* (§568, here: 14-16)	Matt 18:15-20 vel 15-35[232] / *John 9:39-10:10 vel 10:1-10*[233] / John 10:11-16[234]	*John 10:1-16*
For Apostles						
Psalm+ stichos	*Ps 18:5 et 1*			*Ps 18:5 et 2* (§47, 221, 226, 427, 515, 765, 992, 1018, 1173, 1261, 1267, 1299, 1315, 1336, 1419, 1455) / Ps 45:2 (§101) et 1 / Ps 95:10 et 1 (§899, 1455)		

231 Matt 10:32 et 37-42, corrected according to the manuscript.

232 Matt 18:15-20 et 35, corrected according to the manuscript.

233 John 9:39 et 10:1-10, corrected according to the manuscript.

234 John 10:11-16 vel 10:14-16, corrected according to the manuscript.

Psalm+ stichos	*Ps 18:5 et 1*			*Ps 18:5 et 2* (§47, 221, 226, 427, 515, 765, 992, 1018, 1173, 1261, 1267, 1299, 1315, 1336, 1419, 1455) / Ps 45:2 (§101) et 1 / Ps 95:10 et 1 (§899, 1455)		
Epistle	*1 Cor 4:9-15*		*1 Cor 4:9-15*	*1 Cor 4:6-14* (§1457) / 1 Cor 12:26-31 (§429) / 2 Cor 2:14-3:6 (§1459) / Eph 4:1-16 (§128)		
Gospel	*Matt 10:1-10*[235]	*Matt 10:1-10 / John 21:15-19*	*Matt 10:1-15*	Matt 9:35-10, 15 (§1025) / Matt 19:27-20, 16 (§942) / Mark 6:6-13 (§430, 1308) / Mark 3:13-35 § 1423) / Luke 6:12-19 (§519) / Luke 9:51-63 (§1466, here 51-62) / Luke 9:1-6 (§1467)	Matt 9:35 – 10, 15 vel 10,2-15[236] / Luke 9:1-6 / John 14:15-21 / John 21:1-14	*Matt 10:1-15* Luke 10:1-12
For Holy Women						
Psalm+ stichos	*Ps 44:15 et 16*		Ps 44:15			
Epistle	*2 Cor 4:7-12*		*2Cor 4:7-12*			Gal 3:23-29
Gospel	*Matt 25:1-13*[237]	*Matt 25:1-13*	*Matt 25:1-13*			*Matt 25:1 (incipit)*
For Dedication						
Psalm+ stichos	Ps 64:5-6 et 6			Ps 89:17 et 16 (§1528)		

235 In the Coptic sanctoral, one finds the same reading for Apostles (Matt 10:1-15), and a responsorial psalm (Ps 18:1, 4), similar to *RNB gr. 44*. See *Le Sanctorale copte* 23.

236 Matt 9:35 et 10:2-15, corrected according to the manuscript.

237 The same psalm and Gospel reading for Holy Women is found in the Coptic sanctoral. The prokeimenon for Holy Women proper borrowed from the celebrations of the Virgin Mary (*Le Sanctorale copte* 18-21).

Psalm+ stichos	Ps 64:5-6 et 6			Ps 89:17 et 16 (§1528)		
Epistle	*1 Cor 3:8-17*		Heb 13:10-16	*1 Cor 3:9-16 (§1533)*[238]		
Gospel	*Matt 16:13-19*	*Matt 16:13-19*	*Matt 16:13-20*	*Matt 16:13-20 (§1392)*	*Matt 16:13-20*	*Matt 16:13-19*
For Ar-changel[239]						
Psalm+ stichos	*Ps 103:4 et 1*		Ps 103:4			
Epistle	*Heb 1:1-12*		*Heb 1:13-2:4*			
Gospel	*Matt 25:31-46*	*Matt 25:31-46*	Matt 16: 24-27		Matt 13:36-43 vel 36-51/ *Matt 25:31-46*[240]/ Luke 9:23-26 /John 1:43-51	John 1:43-51

Despite the existence of great diversity in the manuscripts,[241] as seen in the table, we were able to determine stable readings in some propers. The most stable are the Gospel readings for Martyrs (Matt 10:16-22) and for the Dedication of a Church (Matt 16:13-19).[242] These two readings originated in the ancient Hagiopolite celebrations of St. Pamphylius, Valent, Theodor, Iulianus and five saints from Egypt (6 February, §212) and of the Encaenia of the Anastasis (13 September, §1538, 1253). The reading for Venerable ones (Matt 10:37-42) was borrowed from the feast of St. Anthony the Great (17 January, §150, according to GL, here — Matt 10:32-40), and it is pres-

[238] Heb 13:10-16 in GL is to be read quinta die of the Dedication of the Church.

[239] There is no common proper in GL, but the formula for the Archangels celebration (14 Nov.) is the same: Ps 103:4 et 1, Heb 1:1-12, Matt 13:36-43 (Tarchnischvili, *Le Grand Lectionnaire* II: 51).

[240] The Georgian text is not clear here. After Matt 13: 36-43 there is a remark და ახალი "and new," after which the second reading follows. This could be explained as the end of Matt 13: 52 (51, in Garitte's edition) or may be interpreted as a command to read the new pericope, which is Matt 25: 31-46.

[241] That correlates to Baumstark's law of the evolution of liturgical rites, moving "from diversity to uniformity." See Taft, "Comparative Liturgy" 525. The unification proceeded in different regions at different speeds. Thus, Constantinopolitan sources contemporary to *RNB gr. 44* demonstrate more uniformity. But most of them represent the cathedral rite of Hagia Sophia and its interpretations. If we analyze a greater amount of the manuscripts from the monasteries or parishes within the Patriarchate of Constantinople, they would not be so uniform.

[242] This proper was studied thoroughly by Vitaly Permiakov: Permiakov, *"Make this the place"* 347-350.

ent in the most of the analyzed in the article manuscripts (*RNB gr. 44*, Sin. gr. NE / MΓ 11, Sin. geo. O 38, Sin. arab. 116). As for the readings for Hierarchs, Apostles and Prophets, the manuscripts evince greater variety. The reading for Holy Women — Matt 25:1-13 is stable in *RNB gr. 44*, Sin. gr. NE / MΓ 11, Sin. gr. 212, Sin. arab. 116 (here only an incipit), but the reading for Archangels is rather unsteady.[243] The psalm verses and the Epistle readings differ from one manuscript to another.

With regard to the readings for the eight Sunday liturgies, assigned according to the eight-mode tones, the issue is more complicated.[244] Normally, the "Oktoechos of the Lectionary, i.e. double, quadruple, or eightfold series of scriptural readings and responsorial chants"[245] was related to the readings for matins and was studied according to Hagiopolite, Sinaitic, and Constantinopolitan systems by Sebastià Janeras and Stig Frøyshov.[246] In *RNB gr. 44*, we are dealing with a special selection for the eight Sunday Eucharist liturgies, which has nothing to do with the Resurrectional Gospels. These are different episodes from the life of Christ, and were chosen by the scribe from the annual Lectionary cycle:

RNB gr. 44. 9th c	Subject of the reading	Original place of the reading[247]
For 1st Sunday (Matt 4:12-25), tone 1	Jesus Begins to Preach/Jesus Calls His First Disciples /Jesus Heals the Sick	1st Sunday after Pentecost
For 2nd Sunday (Matt 7:1-11), tone 2	Judging Others /Ask, Seek, Knock	2nd Sunday after Pentecost
For 3rd Sunday (Mark 2:1-12), tone 3	Jesus Forgives and Heals a Paralyzed Man	3rd Sunday of the Cross
For 4th Sunday (Matt 8:14-27)[248], tone 4	Jesus Heals Peter's Mother in Law/ Jesus Heals Many / Jesus Calms the Storm	4th Sunday of Pentecost
For 5th Sunday (Luke 5:18-26), tone 5	Jesus Forgives and Heals a Paralyzed Man	6th Sunday after Theophany

[243] Cf. Verhelst, *Le lectionnaire de Jérusalem* 152-161.

[244] Gospel readings for Sundays in Sin. gr. 210 + Sin. gr. NE / MΓ 12 (A.D. 861/2), Sin. gr. 212, Sin. arab. 116 also have tone indication.

[245] Frøyshov, "The Early Development" 139.

[246] S. Janeras, "I vangeli domenicali della resurrezione," *Paschale Mysterium. Studi in memoria dell'Abate Prof. Salvatore Marsili (1910-1983)*, ed. G. Farnedi (Rome 1986) 55-69; S. Frøyshov, "The Resurrection Office of First-Millennium Jerusalem Liturgy and Its Adoption by Close Peripheries," *Sion, mère des Églises: Mélanges liturgiques offerts au Père Charles Athanase Renoux*, ed. by M. D. Findikyan, D. Galadza, A. Lossky (= Semaines d'Études Liturgiques Saint-Serge, Suppl. 1, Münster 2016) 109-147.

[247] Verhelst, *Le lectionnaire de Jérusalem* 25-42 (according to Sin. gr. 210+Sin. gr. NE / MΓ 12, A. D. 861 / 862, Sin. arab. 116, Sin. geo. O 38).

[248] Instead of Mark 1:29-45.

For 6th Sunday (Luke 5:27-38), tone 6	Jesus Calls Levi and Eats With Sinners/Jesus Questioned About Fasting	7th Sunday after Theophany
For 7th Sunday (John 2:1-11), tone 7	Jesus Changes Water Into Wine	3rd Sunday after Easter
For 8th Sunday (John 8:12-20), tone 8	Dispute Over Jesus' Testimony	6th Sunday after Easter

The method of the scribe was to take two readings from each part of a fourfold liturgical year (Easter / Pentecost / Cross / Theophany), when after Easter the Gospel of John was to be read, after Pentecost, Mathew, after the Cross, Mark, and after Theophany, Luke.[249] With the Fourth Sunday, in error he wrote "Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μάρκον," planning to insert the pericope Mark 1:29-45 (from the liturgy of the Second Sunday of the Cross),[250] but unable to find the text at his fingertips, he corrected "Mark" to "Matthew," and put a parallel fragment from the Gospel of Matthew (Matt 8:14-27).[251]

The only other example known to us of eight Gospel readings for Sunday Eucharists arranged according to the eight tones is Sin. geo. O 54.[252] And although its scribe had the same idea as that of *RNB gr. 44* — to create a compilation — his choice of pericopes differed substantially:

For 1st Sunday, tone 1

	Prokeimenon	Stichos	Epistle	Alleluia	Gospel
RNB gr. 44. 9th c.	Ps 73:12-13	Ps 88:12	Rom 1:1-12	Ps 45:11-12	Matt 4:12-25
Sin. geo. O 54. 10th c.	Ps 73:12-13	Ps 78:16	Rom 1:1-12	Ps 23:1	Matt 4:12-24

For 2nd Sunday, tone 2

RNB gr. 44. 9th c.	Ps 27:9	Ps 27:9	Rom 6:3-23	Ps 124:1-2	Matt 7:1-11
Sin. geo. O 54. 10th c.	Ps 79:3	Ps 79:2	2 Cor 5:14-21	Ps 117:16-17	Mark 1:29-34

For 3rd Sunday, tone 3

RNB gr. 44. 9th c.	Ps 70:9	Ps 30:2	Rom 8:2-11	Ps 5:2-3	Mark 2:1-12
Sin. geo. O 54. 10th c.	Ps 76:14-15	Ps 76:2	Gal 1:1-5	Ps 114:1-2	Luke 4:1-13

For 4th Sunday, tone 4

RNB gr. 44. 9th c.	Ps 84:5-6	Ps 84:7	Rom 10:1-13	Ps 94:3	Matt 8:14-27
Sin. geo. O 54. 10th c.	Ps 27:6-7	Ps 27:8	Heb 13:17-21	Ps 147:1	John 2:1-11

249 Janeras, "Les lectionnaires de l'ancienne liturgie" 83-85.
250 Kekelidze, *Иерусалимский Канонарь* 148.
251 We are grateful to Dr. Alexej Kashkin, who suggested this reading.
252 Frøyshov, "The Early Development" 163.

For 5th Sunday, tone 5

RNB gr. 44. 9th c.	Ps 117:5-7	Ps 117:8	2 Cor 5:14 – 6:2	Ps 44:7-8	Luke 5:18-26
Sin. geo. O 54. 10th c.	Ps 103:33-34	Ps 103:1	Rom 14:7-13	Ps 118:156	Matt 14:14-21

For 6th Sunday, tone 6

RNB gr. 44. 9th c.	Ps 93:5-7	Ps 93:1	Eph 1:17-21	Ps 82:2-3	Luke 5:27-38
Sin. geo. O 54. 10th c.	Ps 91:2	Ps 91:4	Eph 3:14-21	Ps 111:1	Mark 1:35-45

For 7th Sunday, tone 7

RNB gr. 44. 9th c.	Ps 70:17-18	Ps 30:2	Eph 2:4-10	Ps 56:3-4	John 2:1-11
Sin. geo. O 54. 10th c.	Ps 70:17-18	Ps 70:1	Col 2:20-3:4	Ps 56:2	Luke 19:1-10

For 8th Sunday, tone 8

RNB gr. 44. 9th c.	Ps 101:20-21	Ps 101:2	Eph 2:13-18	Ps 94:1	John 8:12-20
Sin. geo. O 54. 10th c.	Ps 32:5	Ps 32:9	I Tim 2:1-7	Ps 100:1-2	John 1:1-17

Thus, both manuscripts are compilations and consist of selections from the annual Lectionary made by scribes themselves. Their personal selections caused the uniqueness of these books, as well as the fact that no manuscripts similar in this regard to *RNB gr. 44* and Sin. geo. O 54 can be found.

b. Epistle readings

Witnesses to the Epistle readings in Greek Hagiopolite Lectionaries are sparse and not studied enough. According to the list of Kurt Aland,[253] they were saved in seven Hagiopolite Lectionaries, five of them dated 9th century – *RNB gr. 44*, Sin. gr. 212, Sin. gr. NE / MΓ 31, Sin. gr. NE / MΓ 36, Sin. gr. NE / MΓ 73, one to 10th century – Sin. gr. NE / MΓ 8, and one to 11th century – Sin. gr. NE / X 87 (11th c.). One more 9th-century codex, Sin. gr. NE / MΓ 11, was added to this list by Daniel Galadza, who has already described six manuscripts from Aland's catalogue.[254] Based on these sources, the annual Epistle readings system from Hagiopolite Lectionary can presently be reconstructed as follows:

[253] Aland, *Kurzgefaßte Liste* 356.

[254] Galadza, "Two Greek, Ninth-Century Sources" 88-90, 102 (Sin. gr. 212, Sin. gr. NE / MΓ 11); Idem, "A Note on Hagiopolite Epistle Readings in Three Greek Manuscripts from the Sinai "New Finds," *Sion, mère des Églises: Mélanges liturgiques offerts au Père Charles Athanase Renoux*, ed. by M. D. Findikyan, D. Galadza, A. Lossky (Münster 2016) 149-161, esp. 156-159 (Sin. gr. NE / MΓ 31, Sin. gr. NE / MΓ 36, Sin. gr. NE / MΓ 73); Idem, "A Greek Source" 213-228 (Sin. gr. NE / MΓ 8).

	RNB gr. 44	Sin. gr. 212	Sin. gr. NE / MΓ 31	Sin. gr. NE / MΓ 36	Sin. gr. NE / MΓ 73	Sin. gr. NE / MΓ 11	Sin. gr. NE / MΓ 8
For Martyrs	Heb 11:34-40	Rom 5:1-5		Rom 7:25b–8:11; Rom 8:14-25; Rom 8:28-37 (?)			
For Prophets	Heb 11:32	1 Cor 12:27-13:3				1 Cor 12:27-13:8a[255]	
For Venerables	Gal 5:22 – 6:2						
For Hierarchs	Heb 4:14 – 5:6	Heb 4:14-5:6					
For Apostles	1 Cor 4:9-15	1 Cor 4:9-15					
For Women	2 Cor 4:7-12	2 Cor 4:7-12					
For Dedication	1 Cor 3:8-17	Heb 13:10-16					
For First Sunday	Rom 1:1-12						
For Second Sunday	Rom 6:3-23						
For Third Sunday	Rom 8:2-11						
For Fourth Sunday	Rom 10:1-13						
For Fifth Sunday	2 Cor 5:14 - 6:2						
For Sixth Sunday	Eph 1:17-21						
For Seventh Sunday	Eph 2:4-10						
For Eighth Sunday	Eph 2:13-18						
For Archangel	Heb 1:1-12	Heb 1:13 – 2:4					
26 Dec., Pr. David and St. James							Rom 1: 1-12
27 Dec., St. Stephen							Heb 11: 37-40

[255] Here: for Saints, Prophets, Hierarchs.

28 Dec., Massacre of the Innocents by King Herod							Heb 2:11-18
2 Feb., Encounter of Christ							Rom 9:29-33
Second Sunday for Theophany				Rom 6:3-11			
Third Sunday				Rom 7:25b – 8:11			
Fourth Sunday				Rom 9:30-10:10			
Fifth Sunday				2 Cor 5:16-6:2a			
Sixth Sunday				Eph 1:17-23			
First Sunday of the Holy Fast						2 Cor 6:2-10	Rom 13:12-14:11
[no rubric; "First Sunday of Acts"?]					Acts 5:36-42		
Second Sunday of Acts.Tone 2					Acts 2:22-36		
Third Sunday of Acts					Acts 3:13-16		
Tenth Sunday, also for Transfiguration			Phil 2:5-11				
no extant rubric		1 Thes 4:13-18		2 Tim 1:12-13 Rom 5:1-11			

In general these scattered Epistle readings testify to the existing of the great plausticity. The study of Sin. gr. NE / X 87 (11th c.) will add new details to the reconstruction of the Greek Hagiopolite Epistle readings cycle. As to the identical readings they are few: Heb 4:14 – 5:6 for Hierarchs in the *RNB gr. 44* and Sin. gr. 212, 1 Cor 4:9-15 for Apostles in the *RNB gr. 44* and Sin. gr. 212, 2 Cor 4:7-12 for Holy Women in the *RNB gr. 44* and Sin. gr. 212, Heb 11:34-40 for Martyrs and in *RNB gr. 44* and Sin. gr. NE / MΓ 8 (here: Heb 11:37-40, for St. Stephen).

A comparison of Gospel and Epistle readings in different Hagiopolite Lectionaries revealed the strongest similarity between *RNB gr. 44* and Sin.

gr. 212, which contain the same Gospel pericopes for Martyrs, Apostles, Holy Women, and Dedication; the same prokeimena for Prophets, Venerable ones, Holy Women, and Archangels; and the same Epistle readings for Hierarchs, Apostles, and Holy Women.

3.4. The hymns and their origin

RNB gr. 44 provides not only a collection of the readings and responsorial psalms for the Eucharist, but also an anthology of hymns. Each proper includes:

Hymn for the entrance:
  For Sundays: "Only begotten Son," with the reprise "Who art one of the Holy Trinity;"
  For other propers: troparion + Glory + theotokion.
Trisagion.
Responsorial psalmody.
Sticheron at the synaxis.
Hymn for the transfer of holy gifts:
  For Sundays: Ps 23, 7 with alleluia for Sundays;
  For other propers: nekrosimon + Glory + theotokion or triadikon.

The troparion (τροπάριον), trisagion (τρισάγιος), sticheron at the synaxis (στιχηρὸν εἰς σύναξιν), and hymn for the transfer of holy gifts (εἰς τὰ ἅγια) each have proper terminological definitions. The theotokion, nekrosimon, triadikon remain without any definition in the codex.

a. Troparia at the entrance

Troparia at the entrance[256] were chanted at the beginning of the liturgy before the trisagion, when the clergy entered the church.[257] In GL and the Old Iadgari not less than fifty different troparia at the entrance (oxitay) are preserved. In *RNB gr. 44,* it is a hymnographical composition: during Sunday Eucharistic liturgies the "Only begotten Son" with the Glory and refrain was chanted,[258] and for other propers troparion and theotokion with the Glory in between are prescribed. The list of entrance hymns in *RNB gr. 44* is as follows:

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[256] Leeb, *Die Gesänge* 38-49; Galadza, *Worship of the Holy City* 157-161; *Liturgia Ibero-Graeca* 304-306.
[257] Mateos, *La célébration de la parole* 71-90.
[258] S. Nikitin, "Единородный Сыне," *Православная энциклопедия* 18 (2008) 51-57; V. Grumel, "L'auteur et la date de composition du tropaire Ὁ Μονογενὴς Υἱός," EO 22 (1923) 398-418; Mateos, *La célébration de la parole* 50-52.

Proper	Incipit of the hymn	Manuscripts	Follieri's *Initia*
For a Prophet	Προφῆται ἔνδοξοι, ὑμεῖς βασιλεῖς		
	Χαῖρε Θεοτόκε Παρθένε	= for Hierarchs *(RNB gr. 44)*	
For Venerable ones	Ὅσιε πάτερ, ἐκκλησίας ἐγένου δόξα	Sin. gr. NE / ΜΓ 56+5, St. Anthony (17 Jan.)	Follieri III, 162
	Ἡ Κεχαριτωμένη, μεσίτευσον	Sin. gr. NE / ΜΓ 56+5, Sixth Sunday of Lent (vespers); Sin. gr. NE / ΜΓ 83 (theotokion apolytikion)	Follieri II, 28
For Hierarchs	Ἐξεχύθη ἡ χάρις ἐν χείλεσί σου (here with the name of "Macarius")		
	Χαῖρε Θεοτόκε Παρθένε	= for a Prophet *(RNB gr. 44)*	
For Apostles	Ὁ ἐνδοξαζόμενος ἐν τῇ μνήμῃ	Sin. Gr. NE / ΜΓ 56+5, Sts. Cyrus and John (31 Jan.)	Follieri III, 24. (here: ἐν ταῖς μνείαις)
	Ρῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῶν ἀναγκῶν	= for Martyrs *(RNB gr. 44)*	Follieri III, 434
For Women	Θυγατέρες Ἰηρουσαλήμ	Sin. Gr. NE / ΜΓ 56+5, Sts. Pistis, Elpis, Agape (1 June)	
	Τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Γαβριήλ		Follieri IV, 265
For the Dedication	Τοῦτον τὸν ναὸν ὁ Πατὴρ ἔκτισε		
	Τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος τὸ πλήρωμα	Sin. gr. NE / ΜΓ 56+5, Pentecost (rubric 65, on Glory)	
For 8 Sundays	Ὁ Μονογενὴς Υἱός	Old Iadgari	Follieri III, 111
For Archangel	Ἀρχάγγελε Μιχαήλ, τοῦ θρόνου		
	Θεὸν ἐκ σοῦ σαρκωθέντα ἔγνωμεν		Follieri II, 122

Of these fourteen chants, five can be found in the Tropologion Sin. gr. NE / ΜΓ 56+5, two more in the *Initia* of Follieri, and five remain unidentified. The "Only begotten Son" (Ὁ Μονογενὴς Υἱός), chanted as a refrain to the entrance psalm 94, was already known as the oxitay for Easter in the Old Iadgari and GL.[259] In *RNB gr. 44* there is no indication of this psalm, but instead, an unusual interpretation of this troparion with the repetition of the words "Who art one of the Holy Trinity" ("Εἷς ὤν, εἷς Ἁγίας Τριάδος") after the Glory.[260] The same interpretation is offered in the famous Eu-

[259] Leeb, *Die Gesänge* 49, 306; *The Oldest Iadgari* 216; Tarchnischvili, *Le Grand Lectionnaire* I:143, 114 (§ 745).

[260] Mateos, *La célébration de la parole* 18-19.

chology of Porphyry Uspensky (RNB gr. 226) from the late 10th century,[261] redated recently by Boris Fonkich to the turn of the 8th to 9th centuries.[262] The hymns for other propers were borrowed from the Tropologion. Thus, the entrance hymn for Venerables, Ὅσιε πάτερ, ἐκκλησίας ἐγένου δόξα (fol. 5v-6r), originated in the celebration of St. Anthony (17 January), for Holy Women, Θυγατέρες Ἰερουσαλήμ (fol. 27v) — in the acolouthia of Sts. Pistis, Elpis, and Agape (1 June, rubric 69),[263] and other hymns are rooted in the liturgies of Sts. Cyrus and John (31 January), Pentecost and Great Lent.

b. Trisagion

The hymn "O holy God," originating from 5th-century penitential processions in Constantinople (around A.D. 438/439),[264] was already known in Palestine in the 6th century.[265] In *RNB gr. 44* this hymn is present only in the propers for the Third, Seventh, Eight Sundays and for the commemoration of the Archangel Michael.

c. Stichera at the synaxis

The stichera at the synaxis occupied a post-Gospel position and correspond to the Georgian xeltabanisay (handwashing chant).[266] This name

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[261] Ibid. 18-19, 52. Originally in *RNB. gr. 226* it was a hymn of the third antiphon for Sundays, chanted after the stichos Ps 94:6. This usage of the hymn was deleted in the codex, probably because the hymn was moved from the third to the second antiphon.

[262] B. Fonkich, "Порфирьевский Евхологий РНБ. Греч. 226. К вопросу о датировке и локализации рукописи," *Специальные исторические дисциплины*, 2 (М.: ИВИ РАН, 2017, in press).

[263] Sin. gr. NE / MГ 56+5, on "Lord, I have cried" and at the Praises, tone 8. These martyrs suffered in the second century in Rome and were venerated through the Christian East and West under various dates. Their Life appeared in 7th-8th c. and is known from Greek, Syriac, Armenian, Georgian, and Latin sources: *BHG* I, 231-232, *BHG* II, 243; *BHO* 237-238; *BHL* I 444-445; Garitte, *Le calendrier palestino-géorgien* 182, 294, 336, 367, 368, 455, 481.

[264] R. Taft, "Trisagion," *ODB* III, 2121; *Liturgia Ibero-Graeca* 48-49, 307-309; Galadza, *Worship of the Holy City* 161-162; Mateos, *La célébration de la parole* 91-126; S. Janeras,"Le Trisagion: une formule brève en Liturgie comparée," *Comparative* Liturgy Fifty Years after *Anton* Baumstark *(1872-1948)*, ed. G. Winkler (= OCA 265, Rome 2002) 495-562.

[265] In the Life of St. Sabas the polemic over the Theopaschite Trisagion formula is mentioned: ἐπειδὴ τινὲς αὐτῶν λέγειν ἐπεχείρησαν τὸν τρισάγιον ὕμνον μετὰ τῆς ὑπὸ Πέτρου τοῦ ἐπίκλην Κναφέως ἐπινοηθείσης προσθήκης τοῦ ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι'ἡμᾶς, ἀγανακτήσας εἰκότως ὁ θεῖος πρεσβύτης Ἑλληνιστὶ τοῦτον αὐτοὺς ψάλλειν τὸν ὕμνον ἐκέλευσεν κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαίαν τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας παράδοσιν... See *Kyrillos von Skythopolis*, ed. E. Schwartz (= Texte und Untersuchungen 49/2, Leipzig 1939) 117-118.

[266] Leeb, *Die Gesänge* 99-113; *R. F. Taft*, Worship on Sinai in the First Christian Millenium: Glimpse of a Lost World, in: Approaching the Holy Mountain. Art and Liturgy at St. Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai, ed. Sharon E. J. Gerstel and Robert S. Nelson (Turnhout, Brepols, 2010) 143-177; Idem, "The βηματικόν in the 6/7 c. Narration of the Abbots John and Sophronius (BHGNA 1438w). An Exercise in Comparative Liturgy," *OCA* 260 (2000) 675-692;

derived from their physical juxtaposition to the Lavabo, but was actually a response to the Gospel. While the troparia at the entrance have been known and studied only from the Georgian sources,[267] the stichera at the synaxis have been examined on the basis of Georgian and Greek Lectionaries, Iadgari / Tropologia, and early codices of JAS.[268] A rich and still unedited repertory of about 30 stichera at the synaxis is preserved in Sin. gr. NE / MΓ 56+5 (9th c.). *RNB gr. 44* saved the whole repertory of Hagiopolite stichera at the synaxis, which were placed here after the Gospel, following the litany and before the dismissal of the catechumens:

Proper	Incipit of the sticheron at the synaxis	Sin. gr. NE / MΓ 56+5	Follieri's *Initia*
For Martyrs	Ὁ τῶν ἁγίων ἀθλοφόρων δεξάμενος		= for Apostles (*RNB gr. 44*); Follieri III, 205 (μαρτύρων)
For a Prophet	Ἐν τοῖς προφήταις, ἀνήγγειλας ἡμῖν		Follieri I, 470
For Venerable ones	Ὅσιε πάτερ, οὐκ ἔδωκας ὕπνον (here with the name "Macarius")	St. Anthony (17 Jan.)	Follieri III, 163-164
For Hierarchs	Ἐν ἱερεῦσι καὶ μάρτυσι διαπρέψας	St. Mark (25 Apr.)	Follieri I, 443
For Apostles	Ὁ τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου δεξάμενος		= for Martyrs (*RNB gr. 44*) Follieri III, 205 (Ὁ τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων)
For Women	Τῆς παρθενίας τὸ καύχημα (here with the name "Barbara")	*[269]	
For the Dedication	Ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Κυρίου, μεγάλως κεκοσμεῖται	Dedication of the Chozeva Monastery (16 Jan.)	Follieri II, 16
For 1st Sunday	Τῷ ζωοδόχῳ σου μνήματι		Follieri IV, 328
For 2nd Sunday	Ὄντως παράνομοι σφραγίσαντες		Follieri III, 122
For 3rd Sunday	Τὸ ζωοδόχον σου μνῆμα		
For 4th Sunday	Τὸ φαιδρόν κήρυγμα τῆς ἀναστάσεως		
For 5th Sunday	Οἱ τῆς κουστωδίας		Follieri III, 66
For 6th Sunday	Εἰπάτωσαν Ἰουδαῖοι		Follieri I, 371

Idem, "Were There Once Old Testament Readings In the Byzantine Divine Liturgy? Apropos of an Article by Sysse Gudrun Engberg," *BBGG* III-8 (2011) 271-311, esp. 288-298.

[267] Leeb, *Die Gesänge* 38-49.

[268] They were called differently: στιχηρὸν τῆς συνάξεως / στιχηρὸν ψαλλόμενον εἰς τὴν λειτουργίαν / στιχηρὸν ψαλλόμενον εἰς σύναξιν. See Leeb, *Die Gesänge*... 99-124; Taft, "Worship on Sinai" 156, 160-161; R. Taft, S. Parenti, *Il Grande Ingresso*. Edizione italiana rivista, ampliata e aggiornata (Grottaferrata 2014) 181-198.

[269] This hymn is present in Sin. gr. NE / MΓ 4, St. Christina (24 July, at the Praises).

For 7th Sunday	Ἡ μὲν ἡμέρα τοῦ πάθους σου		Follieri II,43
For 8ht Sunday	Ὅτε τῷ ξύλῳ προσήλωσαν		
For Archangel	Ἐκ τῶν φοβερῶν καὶ ἀχράντων	Archangel (6 June)	Follieri I, 411.

Of the sixteen hymns, twelve can be found in Tropologion Sin. gr. NE / ΜΓ 56+5 and *Initia* of Follieri, and four hymns remained unidentified. The sticheron for the proper of Venerables Ὅσιε πάτερ, ουκ ἔδωκας ὕπνον (fol. 9v-10r) originated in the feast of St. Anthony the Great (Sin. gr. NE / ΜΓ 56+5, 17 January, on "Lord, I have cried," tone 5). But in *RNB gr. 44* it contains the name of St. Macarius instead of St. Anthony. Similarly, the chant for Women, Τῆς παρθενίας τὸ καύχημα (fol. 31r), known from the Tropologion Sin. Gr. NE / ΜΓ 4, where it was chanted to St. Christina (24 July, at the Praises), here is clearly connected to St. Barbara. The hymn for Hierarchs Ἐν ἱερεῦσι καὶ μάρτυσι (fol. 14v-15r) was the hymn for St. Mark (Sin. gr. NE / ΜΓ 56+5, 25 April, vespers, on "Lord, I have cried," tone 8), the Apostle and protector of Egypt, and for the Archangel Ἐκ τῶν φοβερῶν καὶ ἀχράντων (fol. 68v), of the Archangel Michael (Sin. gr. NE / ΜΓ 56+5, the sticheron at the synaxis). Finally, the text for the Dedication of the Church, Ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Κυρίου (fol. 18v), can be found in the liturgy of the Consecration of the Chozeva Monastery (Sin. gr. NE / ΜΓ 56+5, 16 January, on "Lord, I have cried," tone 1).

d. Hymns for the transfer of gifts

The alleluia composition for the transfer of the gifts for Sunday propers, an archaic tradition witnessed in Georgian (= sic'midisay) and Greek sources, has been studied in detail by Helmut Leeb, Robert Taft, and Stefano Parenti.[270] They have traced the development of this composition, based on the data of the JAS and the GL, where for the days of Palm Sunday, the Easter Vigil, the Sunday of Easter, Pentecost, and the Dedication of the Anastasis Church in Jerusalem, the Holy gifts were prescribed to be escorted with antiphonal Alleluia-chanting, performed by a soloist and accompained by choir or parishioners. Exactly this structure – alleluia, Ps 23:7, alleluia, Glory, alleluia – is represented in *RNB gr. 44* (fol. 24v and passim):

> Εἰς τὰ ἅγια. Ἀλληλούϊα. Ἀλληλούϊα. Ἄρατε πύλας, οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐπάρθητε, πύλαι, αἰώνιοι, καὶ εἰσελεύσεται, ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης [Ps 23:7]. Ἀλληλούϊα. Δόξα Πατρί. Ἀλληλούϊα.

For other non-Sunday propers at the Great entrance a specific structure

270 Leeb, *Die Gesänge* 113-124; Taft, Parenti, *Il Grande Ingresso* 228-234.

is preserved, attested in no other liturgical source. That is a "nekrosimon-Glory- theotokion" unit after the exclamation of the deacon: "Let none of the catechumens remain."[271] We have found most of the chants scattered in Sinaitic Greek manuscripts, but their role as chants for the transfer of the gifts in *RNB gr. 44* remains inexplicable to us.[272] Usually these chants tell us about the Body and the Blood of Jesus. Only for the great celebrations could they be tied up with the theme of the feast, e.g., "Hodie ingreditur in Sion rex gloriae" (Palm Sunday), "Tu, Christe, baptizatus es in Jordane" (Epiphany) etc.[273] But in *RNB gr. 44* these texts are dedicated to the Dead and the Virgin Mary.

Proper	Incipit of the hymn	Type	Sinaitic mss, Follieri's *Initia*
For Martyrs	Εἰς τὴν κατάπαυσίν σου	N[274]	Follieri I, 381
	Ρῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῶν ἀναγκῶν	Th	= for Apostles (*RNB gr. 44*); Follieri III, 434
For a Prophet	Ἀθάνατε Θεέ, ἐν σκηναῖς	N	= for Women (*RNB gr. 44*)
	Χαῖρε πάνσεμνε ἁγνή	Th	= for Women, for an Archangel (*RNB gr. 44*)
For Venerable ones	Εἰρηνικὸν ὁδηγὸν καὶ φωτεινὸν ἄγγελον[275]	?	
	Ἡ Κεχαριτωμένη, μεσίτευσον (twice)	Th	Sin. gr. NE / ΜΓ 56+5, Sixth Sunday of Lent (vespers); Sin. gr. NE / ΜΓ 83 (theotokion apolytikion); Follieri II, 28
For Hierarchs	Πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος Ἀδάμ	N	Sin. gr. NE / ΜΓ 56+5, Earthquake (17 Jan.)
	Δέχου τὰς φωνάς	Th	Sin. gr. NE / ΜΓ 56+5, Archangel (6 Jun.); Follieri I 301

[271] Verhelst supposed that it was intermediate phase between antiphonical psalms and a chant, composed from a single antiphon troparion (Leeb, *Die Gesänge* 118). See S. Verhelst, *La Liturgie ibérico-grecque de saint Jacques*. Sources, texte, trad., comm., études (Jérusalem, Bibliothèque Sainte-Anne 1996) 472-473.

[272] Probably we deal with a similar development to that one which Robert Taft determines as "secondary" or "individual formulae" in the rite of the Great Entrance of BAS and CHR? These texts (the trisagion, penitential troparia etc.) were read by a priest or a deacon after the psalm 50 and were "secondary additions of rather dubious value" to primary Cherubicon. And the nekrosima troparia could be caused by "the burial of Christ symbolism that has permeated the Great Entrance." See Taft, *The Great Entrance* 220-227, esp. 220 and 226.

[273] Leeb, *Die Gesänge* 122-123.

[274] N – nekrosimon, Th – theotokion, Tr – triadikon.

[275] It is not clear, if this is a redaction of the "angel of peace" litany, i.e. the litany of the catechumens, read after the Gospel and before their dismissal (Mercier, *La Liturgie de saint Jacques* 174, in *RNB gr. 44* instead of Ἄγγελον εἰρήνης, πιστὸν ὁδηγόν we read Εἰρηνικὸν ὁδηγὸν καὶ φωτεινὸν ἄγγελόν μου, παράσχου) or if this is the beginning of an unknown hymn. For more about the "angel of peace" litany see Taft, *The Great Entrance* 311-349.

For Apostles	Σὺ ὁ Θεός, ὁ καταβάσας Ἅδου	N(?)	
	Ὅτι πάντων ὑπάρχεις	Th	Follieri III, 197
For Women	Ἀθάνατε Θέε, ἐν σκηναῖς	N	= for a Prophet (*RNB gr. 44*)
	Χαῖρε πάνσεμνε ἁγνή	Th	= for a Prophet, for an Archangel (*RNB gr. 44*)
For the Dedication	Ἀνάπαυσον, δέσποτα, ἐν εἰρήνῃ	N	
	Τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος τὸ πλήρωμα	Tr	Sin. gr. NE / MΓ 56+5, Pentecost (rubric 65, on Glory)
For Archangel	Χαῖρε πάνσεμνε ἁγνή	Th	= for a Prophet, for Women (*RNB gr. 44*)

The fact that the majority of the hymns from *RNB gr. 44* were found in Tropologion Sin. gr. NE / MΓ 56+5, based on the Hagiopolite tradition but reflecting the regional specifics of Egypt in the services of the Archangel Michael, St. Mark, St. Macarius, St. Anthony the Great, St. Cyrus and John, and St. Barbara, proves again that these manuscripts belonged to one regional tradition.

3.5. Towards the Origins of *RNB Gr. 44*

Janeras classified Hagiopolite Lectionaries into: "lectionnaires pléniers" (GL), "évangéliaires" (Sin. arab. 116, A.D. 995/6), and "tétraévangiles" (Sin. geo. O 30 + Sin. geo. O 38, A.D. 979)[276]. But other types also existed, and we suggest that Sin. geo. O 54 (10th c.) is the most probable comparison — a liturgical compendium for an unpretentious community, sufficient to perform all kind of liturgies, comprising the Liturgy of St. James, the Presanctified Liturgy, euchological and lectionary material for the feast days of the church year and common propers, for use by a deacon / priest or lector. There are two other similar Georgian compendiums — Sin. geo. O 53 (9th-10^{th}c.) and Sin. geo. NF 58 (9th-10th c.) — which confirm that the production of such liturgical collections was probably well known in the 9th-10th c. in Sinai and Palestine. We hope that the missing part of the codex will be found one day, just as the missing part of the unusual Menaion RNB gr. 89 (1-10 December, ca. A.D. 1000), which is Sin. gr. 578 (10-31 December) was found in the Library of St. Catherine's Monastery.[277] This Menaion was also brought by Constantin Tischendorf to Saint Petersburg, who gathered rare liturgical samples.

Although *RNB gr. 44* was organized according to the Hagiopolite liturgi-

276 Janeras, "Les lectionnaires de l'ancienne liturgie" 82-83.

277 A. Nikiforova, "Воссоединенный кодекс РНБ. Греч. 89 / Sin. gr. 578," *Indo-European Linguistics And Classical Philology, XVII* (Saint Petersburg 2013) 605-618.

cal ordo,[278] and corresponded to the liturgy of St. James, with troparia at the entrance, trisagion, prokeimenon, Epistle reading with alleluia, Gospel reading, litany, hymn at the synaxis, dismissal of the catehumens, hymn for the transfer of gifts, and the Creed, regional influence is evident. In a recent dissertation devoted to the evolution of the rite of the Consecration of a Church and analyzing this proper from *RNB gr. 44,* Vitaly Permiakov concluded that "the use of the Matthew 16 reading ... confirms direct connection of the Lectionary St. Petersburg *RNB gr. 44* to the liturgy of Jerusalem, but the differences in the selection of hymnography, completely distinct from the cadre of the Hagiopolite troparia from the GL and the Iadgari, does not allow one to place the origin of this Lectionary in Jerusalem itself."[279] This observation on one proper is applicable to the whole codex, which we can tentatively place in the region of Egypt.

The main indicators of this liturgical tradition, we suggested, are the propers for the Archangel with the Arabic remark "Michael" and to Holy Women. The hymns for these two propers were found in the Tropologion Sin. gr. NE / MΓ 56+5 among the texts for the peculiar Egyptian celebration – a patronal feast of the Archangel Michael, performed on the 6th of June and for the commemoration of Sts. Pistis, Elpis, and Agape, celebrated on the first of June. This very specific correlation to the Tropologion,[280] the clear scribal preference to use the hymns for saints venerated in the region of Egypt, such as the Archangel Michael, St.Pistis, Elpis, Agape, St. Macarius, St. Mark, the signs of notation, similar to the notation of Hermoupolis, and finally, the use of the Coptic formula "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, One God" confirm the liturgical use of *RNB gr. 44* within the Patriarchate of Alexandria.

4. *Conclusions*

1. *RNB gr. 44* enlarges our knowledge of the variety and plasticity of the Hagiopolite Lectionary, which spread over huge territories of the Near East. The sixteen common propers for Eucharistic liturgies preserved in the codex were arranged to the liturgy of St. James and furnished with the propers and texts familar to the Lectionary of Jerusalem. At the same time there are liturgical peculiarities that rely heavily on the designation of *RNB gr. 44* as a regional interpretation of Hagiopolite tradition.

2. With regard to indications of local tradition, we note especially the special proper to the Archangel Michael, correlated to the great Egyptian

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[278] Verhelst, *La liturgie de Jérusalem* 308; Permiakov, *"Make this the place"* 349.

[279] Permiakov, *"Make this the place"* 99-100.

[280] Chronz, Nikiforova, "Beobachtungen zum ältesten Tropologion" 150-159.

feast, and clear textological parallels in *RNB gr. 44* and the Tropologion Sin. gr. NE / MΓ 56+5, which was in use in Egypt, and written in the Sinai bilingual Lectionary Sin. arab. 116. We can also assume that another Lectionary, Sin. gr. 212, which contains many readings identical to *RNB gr. 44* and Sin. arab. 116, is also connected to this region.

3. *RNB gr. 44* is a noteworthy source for musicology. First, it contains two types of notation. The first one for Gospel and Epistle readings, known as "Cypro-Palestinian" or "Sinaitic" type, using double and trifold accents. The second is for prokeimena and alleluia, and uses with the diple, triple, and more marks. It is a variant of the "diple notation," similar to the "Hermoupolis notation" known from Egyptian manuscripts. Second, the Sunday readings and hymns are arranged to the eight-mode musical system.

4. *RNB gr. 44* includes readings and hymns borrowed from annual Evangeliaries and Tropologia. Thus, the scribe selected eight Gospel readings for rare Sunday propers from four sections of the Hagiopolite liturgical year, trying to take two Gospels from each part. It is a compilation, and we assume that it was created for a parish where there was no set of annual liturgical books, and liturgies were performed only on Sundays and for special occasions. *RNB gr. 44* may have been part of a liturgical collection necessary for this purpose, as Georgian miscellanies Sin. geo. O 53, Sin. geo. O 54, or Sin. geo. NF 58 were, with the Liturgies of St. James and of the Presanctified Gifts, as well as a potpourri of Lectionary and euchological contents that allowed one to perform all main acolouthies.

5. *RNB gr. 44* appeared in the Greek-Arabic mileu in the mid 9th century. It was written in Greek, but with contemporaneous duplication of Greek rubrics in Arabic, that witnessed the gradual arabization of the Orthodox Christian population in the Near East. The codex continued to be used by Arabs through the first half of 11th century, when four secular interpolations in Arabic, telling us about the birth of four persons, were made. Inspite of the eccentric charcter of this book, its shelf life was rather long. The third layer of the text, i. e. Greek interpolations of Sunday prokeimena and photagogika of 13-15th centuries is clear evidence that this enigmatic prayer-book continued to be used in the late-Byzantine period.

ADDENDA

1. *Index biblicus*

For Martyrs

Epistle reading: Heb 11:34-40 / Alleluia: Ps 32:1-2 / Gospel reading: Matt 10:16-22

For Prophets

Psalm: Ps 104:15 / Stichos: Ps 104:1 / Epistle reading: Heb 11:32 (incipit) / Alleluia: Ps 67:12-13 / Gospel reading: Matt 10:37 (incipit)

For Venerable ones

Psalm: Ps 96:10 / Stichos: Ps 96:11 / Epistle reading: Gal 5:22 – 6, 2 / Alleluia: Ps 21:5-6 / Gospel reading: Matt 10:37-42

For Hierarchs

Psalm: Ps 131:9 / Stichos: Ps 131:16/ Epistle reading: Heb 4:14-5, 6 / Alleluia: Ps 44:3-5 / Gospel reading: John 10:1-10

For Apostles

Psalm: Ps 18:5 / Stichos: Ps 18:1 / Epistle reading: 1 Cor 4:9-15 / Alleluia: Ps 138:17 / Gospel reading: Matt 10:1-10

For Women

Psalm: Ps 44:15 / Stichos: Ps 44:16 / Epistle reading: 2 Cor 4:7-12 / Alleluia: Ps 92:4-5 / Gospel reading: Matt 25:1-13

On the Dedication of the Church

Pslam: Ps 64:5-6 / Stichos: Ps 64:6 / Epistle reading: 1 Cor 3:8-17 / Alleluia: Ps 25:8 / Gospel reading: Matt 16:13-19

On the First Sunday

Psalm: Ps 73:12-13 / Stichos: Ps 88:12 / Epistle reading: Rom 1:1-12 / Alleluia: Ps 45:11-12 / Gospel reading: Mt 4:12-25

On the Second Sunday

Psalm: Ps 27:9 / Stichos: Ps 27:9 / Epistle reading: Rom 6:3-23 / Alleluia: Ps 124:1-2 / Gospel reading: Matt 7:1-11

On the Third Sunday

Psalm: Ps 70:9 / Stichos: Ps 30:2 / Epistle reading: Rom 8:2-11/ Alleluia: Ps 5:2-3 / Gospel reading: Mark 2:1-12

On the Fourth Sunday

Psalm: Ps 84:5-6 / Stichos: Ps 84:7 / Epistle reading: Rom 10:1-13 / Alleluia: Ps 94:3 / Gospel reading: Matt 8:14-27

On the Fifth Sunday

Psalm: Ps 117:5-7 / Stichos: Ps 117:8 / Epistle reading: 2 Cor 5:14 – 6:2 / Alleluia: Ps 44:7-8 / Gospel reading: Luke 5:18-26

On the Sixth Sunday
Psalm: Ps 93:5-7 / Stichos: Ps 93:1 / Epistle reading: Eph 1:17-21 / Alleluia: Ps 82:2-3 / Gospel reading: Luke 5:27-38

On the Seventh Sunday
Psalm: Ps 70:17-18 / Stichos: Ps 30:2 / Epistle reading: Eph 2:4-10 / Alleluia: Ps 56:3-4 / Gospel reading: John 2:1-11

On the Eighth Sunday
Psalm: Ps 101:20-21 / Stichos: Ps 101:2 / Epistle reading: Eph 2:13-18 / Alleluia: Ps 94:1 / Gospel reading: John 8:12-20

For an Archangel
Psalm: Ps 103:4 / Stichos: Ps 103:1 / Epistle reading: Heb 1:1-12 / Alleluia: Ps 103:3-4 / Gospel reading: Matt 25:31-46.

2. *Index hymnographicus*

*Ἀθάνατε Θεέ, ἐν σκηναῖς τῶν δικαίων (nekrosimon, for a Prophet, fol. 5v, for Women, fol. 31r)[281].

Ἀλληλούϊα. Ἀλληλούϊα. Ἄρατε πύλας, οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν (hymn for the transfer of the holy gifts, on the Eighth Sundays, fol. 24v, 36v, 40v, 47v, 51v, 56r, 60r, 63r).

*Ἀνάπαυσον, δέσποτα, ἐν εἰρήνῃ (nekrosimon, on the Dedication of the Church, fol. 18v).

*Ἀρχάγγελε Μιχαήλ, τοῦ θρόνου τῆς μεγαλωσύνης (troparion, for an Archangel, fol. 63r-v).

Δέχου τὰς φωνάς (theotokion, for Hierarchs, fol. 14v).

Εἰπάτωσαν Ἰουδαῖοι (sticheron at the synaxis, on the Sixth Sunday, fol. 56r).

*Εἰρηνικὸν ὁδηγὸν καὶ φωτεινὸν ἄγγελον (for Venerable ones, fol. 10r-v).

Εἰς τὴν κατάπαυσίν σου, Κύριε (nekrosimon, for Martyrs, fol. 4r).

Ἐκ τῶν φοβερῶν καὶ ἀχράντων μυστηρίων (sticheron at the synaxis, for an Archangel, fol. 68v-69r).

Ἐν ἱερεῦσι καὶ μάρτυσι διαπρέψας (sticheron at the synaxis, for Hierarchs, fol. 14v-15r).

Ἐν τοῖς προφήταις ἀνήγγειλας ἡμῖν (sticheron at the synaxis, for Prophet, fol. 5r).

*Ἐξεχύθη ἡ χάρις ἐν χείλεσί σου (troparion, for Hierarchs, fol. 10v).

Θεὸν ἐκ σοῦ σαρκωθέντα ἔγνωμεν (theotokion, for an Archangel, fol. 63v).

Θυγατέρες Ἰηρουσαλὴμ ἠγάπησαν (troparion, for Women, fol. 27v).

Ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Κυρίου μεγάλως (sticheron at the synaxis, on the Dedication of the Church, fol. 18v).

Ἡ Κεχαριτωμένη, μεσίτευσον σαῖς δεήσεσι (theotokion, for Venerable ones, fol. 6r, fol. 10v).

Ἡ μὲν ἡμέρα τοῦ πάθους σου (sticheron at the synaxis, on the Seventh Sunday, fol. 59v-60r).

Ὁ ἐνδοξαζόμενος ἐν τῇ μνήμῃ τῶν ἀποστόλων (troparion, for Apostles, fol. 15r-v).

Οἱ τῆς κουστωδίας ἐνηχοῦντο (sticheron at the synaxis, on the Fifth Sunday, fol. 51v-52r).

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281 * means the hymn is known only from this codex.

Ὁ Μονογενὴς Υἱός (troparion, on the Eighth Sundays, fol. 19r, 24v, 37, 41v, 48, 51v, 56v, 60v).
Ὄντως παράνομοι σφραγίσαντες (sticheron at the synaxis, on the Second Sunday, fol. 36r-36v).
Ὅσιε πάτερ, ἐκκλησίας ἐγένου δόξα (troparion, for Venerable ones, fol. 5v-6r).
Ὅσιε πάτερ, οὐκ ἔδωκας ὕπνον (sticheron at the synaxis, for Venerable ones, fol. 9v-10r).
*Ὅτε τῷ ξύλῳ προσήλωσαν, Κύριε (sticheron at the synaxis, on the Eighth Sunday, fol. 62v-63r).
Ὅτι πάντων ὑπάρχεις τῶν ποιμάτων (theotokion, for Apostles, fol. 27r).
Ὁ τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου / τῶν ἁγίων ἀθλοφόρων δεξάμενος τὴν ὑπομονήν (sticheron at the synaxis, for Apostles, fol. 27r, sticheron at the synaxis, for Martyrs, fol. 4r).
*Προφῆται ἔνδοξοι, ὑμεῖς βασιλεῖς ἠλέξασθε (troparion, for a Prophet, fol. 4r-v).
Πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος Ἀδάμ (nekrosimon, for Hierarchas, fol. 14v).
Ρῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῶν ἀναγκῶν (theotokion, for Martyrs, fol. 4r, for Apostles, fol. 15v).
*Σὺ ὁ Θεός, ὁ καταβάσας Ἅδου (nekrosimon, for Apostles, fol. 27r).
Τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος τὸ πλήρωμα (on the Dedication of the Church, fol. 31v, fol. 18v).
Τῆς παρθενίας τὸ καύχημα (sticheron at the synaxis, for Women, fol. 31r).
*Τὸ ζωοδόχον σου μνῆμα (sticheron at the synaxis, on the Third Sunday, fol. 40v-41r).
Τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Γαβριὴλ τὴν φωνήν (theotokion, for Women, fol. 27v).
*Τοῦτον τὸν ναὸν ὁ Πατὴρ ἔκτισε (troparion, on the Dedication of the Church, fol. 31v).
*Τὸ φαιδρὸν κήρυγμα τῆς ἀναστάσεως (sticheron at the synaxis, on the Fourth Sunday, fol. 47r).
Τῷ ζωοδόχῳ σου μνήματι παρεστῶσαι (sticheron at the synaxis, on the First Sunday, fol. 24r-v).
*Χαῖρε Θεοτόκε Παρθένε (theotokion, for a Prophet, fol. 4v, for Hierarchs, fol. 11r).
*Χαῖρε πάνσεμνε ἁγνή (theotokion, to a Prophet, fol. 5v, for Women, fol. 31r, for an Archangel, fol. 69r).

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SUMMARY

This article provides a new edition of the 9th-century fragment, Codex Sinaiticus Liturgicus (*RNB, gr. 44*, Constantin Tischendorf's collection), with both its Greek and Arabic texts, and compares it to Greek, Greek-Arabic, and Georgian Hagiopolite Lectionaries and Tropologia from St. Catherine's Monastery on Sinai, speculating about the typology, original state, and provenance of this codex, earlier considered to be a "livre unique" and "incomparable."

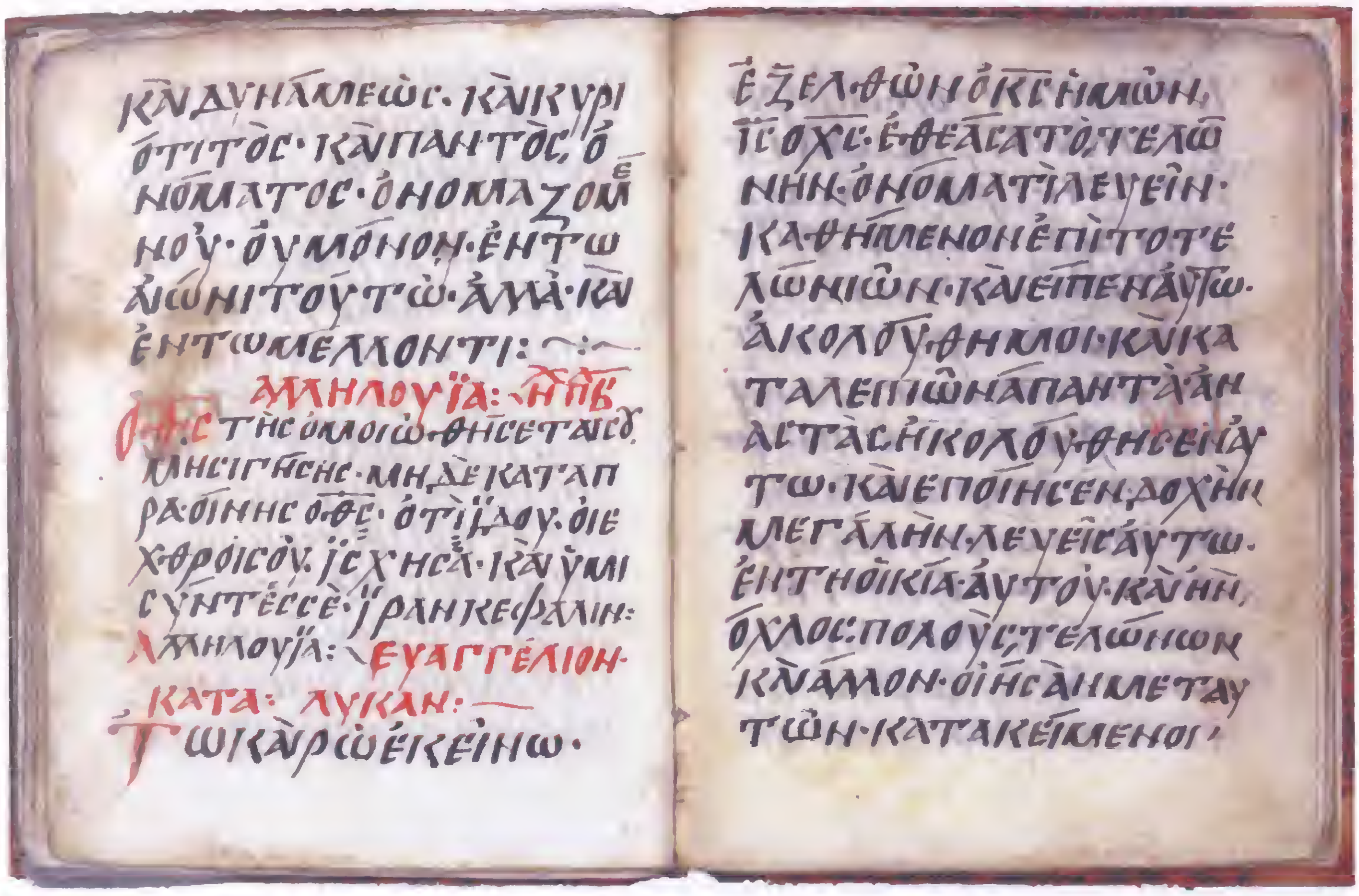


Fig 1. The musical signs in *RNB gr. 44*, fol. 53v-54r (© RNB).

1. fol. 53v-54r. From the Gospel according Luke 5:27-38: musical signs of "Cypro-Palestinian" type (acute, grave and circumflex accents).
2. fol. 53v. Alleluia, tone plagal 2: musical signs of regional type, of Egypt? (diple, triple).

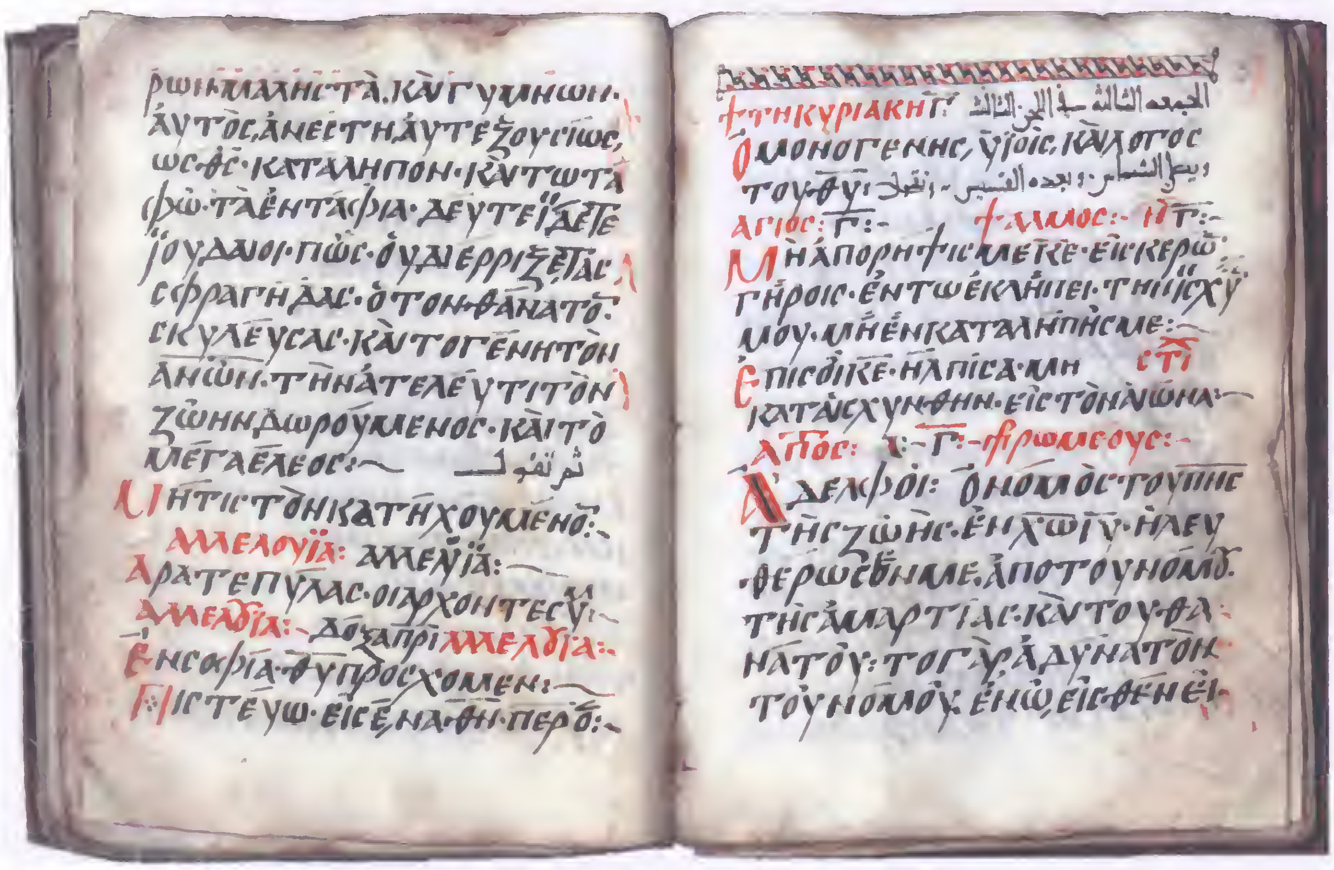


Fig 2. *RNB gr. 44*, fol. 36v-37r (© RNB). Greek-Arabic text of 9th c., with ornaments and incipits.



Fig 3. *RNB gr. 31*, fol. 1v (© RNB). Hymns for Lent. Paleographical parallel to *RNB gr. RNB gr. 31*.



Fig 4. *RNB gr. 44*, fol. 46v (© RNB). Arabic interpolations of 11th c.



Fig 5. *RNB gr. 44,* fol. 9v-10r (© RNB). Greek interpolations of 13th-15th c.

Jacopo Gnisci – Rafał Zarzeczny, S.J.

They Came with their Troops Following a Star from the East

A Codicological and Iconographic Study of an Illuminated Ethiopic Gospel Book

Introduction

Only a limited number of lavishly illuminated Ethiopic Gospel books survive from the fifteenth century, and many of these still await detailed study.[1] The one discussed here (= PC)[2] is decorated with 25 full-page miniatures depicting scenes from the life of Christ, the Evangelists, and other saints. PC is of particular interest due to the presence of an unusual procession scene spread out over several folios.[3] This many-figured composition shows the Three Kings (cf. Matt 2:1-12) proceed towards a large encampment with a huge retinue of soldiers, servants, clergymen, and beasts of burden laden with provisions. As argued in detail below, numerous details of this procession were probably drawn from contemporary life, making these illuminations a treasure trove of information about the peripatetic life of the Ethiopian court towards the end of the fifteenth century.

1. *Physical Description*

Parchment; 320 × 255 × 90 mm; original wooden boards, covered with brown-red tooled leather; 221 folios gathered in thirty-three unnumbered fascicles; the codex structure is as follows: fasc. I: 2 leaves (ff. 1-2); II: 5 (3-7); III: 1 (8); IV: 8 (9-16); V: 3 (17-19); VI: 8 (20-27); VII: 8 (28-35); VIII: 8 (36-43); IX: 8 (44-51); X: 8 (52-59); XI: 8 (60-67); XII: 7 (68-74); XIII: 3 (75-77); XIV: 8 (78-85); XV: 8 (86-93); XVI: 7 (94-101); XVII: 11 (102-112); XVIII: 1 (113); XIX: 8 (114-121); XX: 8 (122-129); XXI: 8 (130-137); XXII: 8

* The authors would like to thank the owner of the manuscript for allowing them to study and publish it. Unless otherwise specified, quotations in languages other than English have been translated by the authors.

[1] For some examples, see Skehan 1954; Heldman 1972; 1993b: cat. no. 92; Chojnacki 2009b: 28-29; Lepage – Mercier 2012.

[2] For a list of manuscript abbreviations, see section number 12 of this article.

[3] A few pages of this manuscript have been published in Mercier 2004: 122-123; and in Mann 2005: 9; a brief description of it is found in the catalogue by Fogg 2001: cat. no. 11; but it has not been the object of detailed investigation.

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(138-145); XXIII: 8 (146-153); XXIV: 8 (154-161); XXV: 5 (162-166); XXVI: 4 (167-170); XXVII: 8 (171-178); XXVIII: 8 (179-186); XXIX: 8 (187-194); XXX: 8 (195-202); XXXI: 8 (203-210); XXXII: 8 (211-217); XXXIII: 4 (218-221); no foliation or pagination has been made; layout in two columns; 25 lines per page; 9-10 signs per line; black ink; *nomina sacra*, single letters, and numbers are written in red; late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.

Contents

1. (ff. 1v-2v) The list of the chapters (*tituli et kephalaia*) of the Gospel of Matthew, *tit*. **አርእሶተ ፡ ነገር ፡ እምወንጌል ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ዘማቴዎስ**, organized in 68 chapters; there are actually 77 numbers, but nn. 51-62 are left empty and limited to the initial word **በእንተ**, some titles are added on the margins; one-column layout.[4]
2. (f. 9ra-b) *ḥaräg*. Introduction to the Gospel (*Mäqdəmä Wängel*), *inc*. **በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ … ንቀድም ፡ በረድኤተ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ይትባረክ ፡ ስሙ ፡ ወይ†ለዓል ፡ ዘእምኔሁ ፡ ኵሉ ፡ ሢመተ ፡ ኀይል ፡ ወቦቱ ፡ ተፍጻሚተ ፡ ኵሉ ፡ ሥዕለት ። ወኀቤሁ ፡ ምብጻሐ ፡ ኵሉ ፡ አስተብቍዖት ። በጽሒፈተ ፡ መቅድመ ፡ አርባዕቱ ፡ ስቡሐን ፡ አሠርቱ ፡ አቅማራት ፡ ወሰላመ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ አሜን ። ወእምድኅረ ፡ ዝንቱ [፡] ይሤኒ ፡ ዘይቀድም ፡ መቅድመ ፡ ነገር ፡ ፍ[ሱሕ ፡] ወይትካሠት ፡ ቦቱ ፡ አንብቦቱ ፡ ርቱዓ ፡ አኰቴተ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ሰዋሪ ። ወከዳኒ ፡ ነቢቢ ፡ ወከሃሊ ።** *etc*. "In the name of the Father … we begin with the help of God — may his name be blessed and exalted, from whom is the appointing of all authority, in whom is the fulfilment of all requests and towards whom is the pathway of all supplication — to write the preface of the four holy Gospels and the ten tables, in the peace of God the Father, amen. And after this, it is good to write the preface to a joyful matter, in which an equitable proclamation is revealed, glory be to God, who conceals and who covers, who speaks and can perform what he has spoken."[5]
   a. (f. 9rb-va) Chapter one, concerning the purpose of the Gospel, *inc*. **ቀዳማይ ፡ ግብር ፡ ቀዳማዊ ። ወግብ[ሩስ ፡] ለዝንቱ ፡ መጽሐፍ ፡ ማሕየዊ ። ከመ ፡ ይርባሕ ፡ ቦቱ ፡ ሕይወተ ፡ ዘለዓለም ፡ ለደቂቀ ፡ እጓለ ፡ እመሕየው ፡ ወበጺሖቶሙ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ፈጠሪሆሙ ።** *etc*. "Principal work. The *purpose* (lit. work) of this life-giving book is that man should obtain eternal life, for the children of man and their drawing near to their Creator."[6]
   b. (ff. 9va-12vb) Chapter two, concerning the creation of Adam, his fall and salvation in Christ, *inc*. **ቀዳማይ ፡ ወካልእ ፡ በቍዔት ፡ ወበቀዔተ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ መጽሐፍ ፡ ንጹሕ ፡ ካዕበ ፡ እስመ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ በዘ ፡ ይትነበብ ፡ እምኔሁ ፡ ወይትነ[በብ] ፡**

[4] Zuurmond 2001: 463-464.

[5] Grébaut 1914: 17-22; Cowley 1977: 146-159; Zuurmond 1989 I: 14-16.

[6] Cowley 1977: 147-148.

አጥርዮ ፡ መድኀኒተ ፡ ለአዳም ፡ ወለዘርኡ ፡ እምጼዊዌ ፡ ሰይጣን ፡ *etc.* "The *usefulness* of this pure book is that it demonstrates, by what is further read from it, the acquiring of the salvation of Adam and of his seed from the captivity of the accursed Satan."[7]

c. (f. 12vb) Chapter three, concerning how and when to read the Gospel, *inc.* ሣልስ ፡ ሥርዓት ፡ ወሥርዓተ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ መጽሐፍ ፡ ክቡር ፡ ወይእቲኬ ፡ አንብቦቶ ፡ ኵሎ ፡ ጊዜ ። *etc.* "The *ordinance* of this honoured book is to read it all the time."[8]

d. (ff. 12vb-13ra) Chapter four, concerning the meaning of names, *inc.* ራብዕ ፡ ስም ፡ ወስመ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ መጽሐፍ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ወንጌል ፤ ወንጌል ፡ ብኂል ፡ ቃለ ፡ ጽርዕ ። ወትርጓሜሁ ፡ ስብከት ፡ *etc.* "The *name* of this honoured book is the *Wängel*, Gospel, which is a word of the Greek language, and its meaning is 'proclamation'."[9]

e. (f. 13ra) Chapter five, concerning the Evangelists, *inc.* ኀምስ ፡ እማአይቴ ፡ ወመሠረተ ፡ ዝን<ን>ቱ ፡ መጽሓፍ ፡ ክቡር ፡ ኀበ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ዐቢይ ፡ ወዐዚዝ ፡ ወቦኑ ፡ አርባዕቱ ፡ ጸሓፍት ። *etc.* "The *foundation* of this honoured book is in the great and powerful God. It has four writers."[10]

f. (f. 13ra-b) Chapter six, concerning the support which the readers of the Gospel receive from the Holy Spirit, *inc.* ሳድስ ፡ ምስማክ ፡ ወውእቱ ፡ በአይ ፡ ግብር ፡ ይሤኒ ። ወለአይ ፡ ገጽ ፡ ይፈቅድ ። እስመ ፡ ምስማክ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ መጽሐፍ ፡ ክቡር ። ወፈቂዶቱ ፡ ወቀመይጦት ፡ ኀበ ፡ ተጠብቦተ ፡ ልብ ፡ ወንብረቱ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ሥርዓት ፡ ልዑላዊት ፡ *etc.* "The *support* of this honoured book, means for what work it is good, and for what purpose from among the parts of wisdom which the heart desires and chooses."[11]

g. (f. 13rb-vb) Chapter seven, concerning the division of the text on the sections, the stichometry, and the symbols of the Evangelists, *inc.* ሳብዕ ፡ አርእስተ ፡ ነገር ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ መጽሐፍ ፡ ክቡር ፡ እስመ ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ብይንት ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ብያኔ ፡ ክሡት ፡ ቃል ፡ ወገቢረ ። *etc.* "The matter of the *sections* of this honoured book is defined, and within it is a clear definition, both in word and in deed."[12]

3. (ff. 13vb-14rb) Dissertation on the harmony of the four Gospels, or the Synopsis of Classes, *inc.* ኀረግ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ኅብረተ ፡ ቃላት ፡ ዘ፬ወንጌላት ፡ ግጻዌ ፡ ሥርዓት ። ወእንዘ ፡ ይተሉ ፡ ረድኤተ ፡ ፪ ፡ ባሕቲቶሙ ፡ ጽሐፉ ፡ ወንጌል ፡ እምሐዋርያት ። ወ፪ ፡ እመትልሆሙ ፡ ፩ ፡ ዘጳውሎስ ። ወ፩ ፡ ዘጴጥሮ(f. 14ra)ስ ፡ ረድኦ ፡ ዚአሁ ። *etc.* "Synopsis concerning the agreement of the words of the Four Gospels.

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7 Cowley 1977: 148-156.
8 Cowley 1977: 157.
9 Cowley 1977: 157.
10 Cowley 1977: 158.
11 Cowley 1977: 158-159.
12 Cowley 1977: 159-161; Zuurmond 1989 I: 9-11, 25-26.

While the help [of God] followed after them, just two of the apostles, then wrote a Gospel, and two of their followers: one was a follower of Paul and one was a disciple of Peter."[13]

4. (f. 14rb-vb) The Epistle of Eusebius to Carpianus, *inc.* አውሴብስ፡ ዘቀርጲያኖስ [the syllable *pi* is archaic]፡ ለዛ፡ አፈቅር፡ እኁየ፡ ፍሥሐ፡ ወዳኅና፡ ለከ፡ እምኀበ፡ እግዚአብሔር። *etc.* "Eusebius to Carpianus, to the one whom I love, to my brother: joy, and good health be yours, from God."[14]
5. (f. 16ra-b) Praise of the Virgin Mary, added later with a poor hand, *inc.* ሰላም፡ ለኪ፡ ማርያም፡ ድንግል፡ ዘመአዛ፡ አፉኪ፡ ኮል፡ *etc.*;[15] layout in two columns divided with a double vertical line.
6. (ff. 20ra-72vb) *ḥaräg* (Fig. 1). The Gospel of Matthew, *tit.* (in two columns) ወንጌል፡ ቅዱስ፡ | ዘማቴዎስ።[16] *inc.* መጽሐፈ፡ ልደቱ፡ ለእግዚእ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክር[ስ]ቶስ፡ ወልደ፡ ዳዊት፡ ወልደ፡ አብርሃም። አብርሃም፡ ወለዶ፡ ለይስሐቅ፡ ወይስሐቅኒ፡ ወለዶ፡ ለያዕቆብ፡ ወያዕቆብኒ፡ ወለዶ፡ ለይሁዳሃ፡ ወአኀዊሁ። *etc.*; *desc.* ሑሩ፡ ወመሀሩ፡ ኵ(f. 72va)ሎ፡ አሕዛበ፡ ወእንዘ፡ ታጠምቅዎሙ፡ በሎ፡ በስመ፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ። ወመሀርዎሙ፡ ይዕቀቡ፡ ኵሎ፡ ዘ(vb)አዘዝኩክሙ፡ ወአነ፡ ሀለውኩ፡ምስሌክሙ፡በኵሉ፡ መዋዕል፡ እስከ፡ ሕልቀተ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን። ＝። ተፈጸመ፡ ወንጌል፡ ቅዱስ፡ ዘዜነወ፡ ማቴዎስ፡ ቃሉ፡ ፳፻፡ ፯፻።[17]
7. (ff. 72v-73v) The list of the chapters (*tituli et kephalaia*) of the Gospel of Mark, *tit.* አርእስተ፡ ነገር፡ እምወንጌል፡ ቅዱስ፡ ዘዜነወ፡ ማርቆስ, in 48 ፵፰ numbers; one-column layout.
8. (ff. 78ra-110vb) *ḥaräg*. The Gospel of Mark, *tit.* (in two columns) ወንጌል፡ ቅዱ|ስ፡ ዘማርቆስ,[18] *inc.* ቀዳሚሁ፡ ለወንጌል [፡] እግዚእ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ወልደ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ሕያው። በከመ፡ ጽሑፍ፡ ውስተ፡ መጽሐፈ፡ ኢሳይያስ፡ ነቢይ፡ ናሁ፡ አነ፡ እፌኑ፡ መልአክየ፡ ዘይጸይሕ፡ ፍኖተ፡ በቅድሜሁ፡ ቃለ፡ አዋዲ፡ ዘይሰብክ፡ በገዳም። *etc.*; *desc.* ወወፂአሙ፡ አርዳኢሁ፡ እምህየ፡ እሙንቱ፡ በኵለሄ፡ ሰበኩ፡ እንተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ይረድ [፡] ወቃሎ፡ ያጸንእ፡ በትምህርት፡ ዘይተሉ። አሜን።[19]
9. (ff. 111r-112v) The list of the chapters (*tituli et kephalaia*) of the Gospel of Luke, *tit.* አርእስተ፡ ነገር፡ ዘእምወንጌል፡ ቅዱስ፡ ሉቃስ።። *etc.*; text in 83 ፹፫ numbers; one-column layout.
10. (ff. 114ra-166vb) *ḥaräg*. The Gospel of Luke, *tit.* (in two columns) ወንጌል፡ ቅዱ|ስ፡ ዘሉቃስ፡[20] *inc.* እስመ፡ ብዙኀን፡ እለ፡ አኀዙ፡ ይወጥኑ፡ ይንግሩ፡ ወይምሀሩ፡ ወይግበሩ፡ በእንተ፡ ነገር፡ ዘንሕነ፡ ጠየቅነ፡ በከመ፡ መሀሩነ፡ እለ፡ ቀዳሙነ፡ ርእዮቶ።

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[13] Grébaut 1914: 23; Cowley 1977: 161-162; Zuurmond 1989 I: 8-9.

[14] CPG 3465; Bausi 2015: 107-135; Cowley 1977: 162-164; Zuurmond 1989 I: 19-20.

[15] Chaîne 1913: 196, no. 91; Grohmann 1919: 34, 312-313.

[16] Zuurmond 1989 I: 23.

[17] Zuurmond 2001.

[18] Zuurmond 1989 I: 23.

[19] Zuurmond 1989 II: 93, 299-300.

[20] Zuurmond 1989 I: 23.

etc.; *desc*. ወነበሩ፡ ቤተ፡ መቅደስ፡ እንዘ፡ ይሴብሕዎ፡ ወይበርክዎ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም ።=።=። ተፈጸመ፡ ወንጌል፡ ቅዱስ፡ ዘዜነወ፡ ሉቃስ፡ ቃሉ፡

11. (f. 167r) The list of the chapters (*tituli et kephalaia*) of the Gospel of John, *tit*. አርእስተ፡ ነገር፡ ዘእምወንጌል፡ ቅዱስ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ *etc*.; in 20 numbers; one-column layout.
12. (ff. 171ra-215rb) *ḥaräg*. The Gospel of John, *tit*. (in two columns) ወንጌል፡ ቅዱ|ስ፡ ዘዮሓንስ፡,[21] *inc*. ቀዳሚሁ፡ ቃል፡ ውእቱ፡ ው(*sic*!)ውእቱ፡ ቃል፡ ኀበ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ውእቱ። ወእግዚአብሔር፡ ውእቱ፡ ቃል [፡] ወከማሁ፡ እምቀዳሚሁ፡ ኀበ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ውእቱ። ወኵሉ፡ ቦቱ፡ ኮነ፡ ወዘእንበሌሁሰ፡ አልቦ፡ ዘኮነ፡ ወኢ፡ ምንተኒ። *etc*.; *desc*. ዝንቱ፡ ረድእ፡ ዘኮነ፡ ሰማዕተ፡ በእንተዝ፡ ወዘሂ፡ ጸሐፈ፡ ነአምር፡ ከመ፡ ጽድቅ፡ ውእቱ፡ ስምዑ፡ ወዘንተ፡ ገብረ፡ እግዚእ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ወቦ፡ ባዕዳ[ት]ኒ፡ ከዙኅ፡ ዘገብረ፡ እግዚእ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ወሶበ፡ ተጽሕፈ፡ በበ፡ አሐዱ፡ እመ፡ ኢያግመሮ፡ ዓለም፡ ጥቀ፡ መጻሕፍቲሁ፡ ዘእምተጽሕፈ፡ አሜን፡ ወአሜን ።=። above the line add. ተመጠወነ፡ below the line add. ተፈጸመ፡ በዝየ፡ ወንጌል፡ ዘዮሐንስ፡ ወቃሉ፡ ዕሥራ፡ ምእት፡ ወስድስቱ፡ ምእት ።=።[22]
13. (ff. 218r-221v) The Eusebian Canons (*'aqmarat*).[23]
    a. (f. 218r) The first canon, for the four Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John: ሥርዓተ፡ ቀመር፡ ፩ [፡] ዘከመ፡ ኀብሩ፡ አርባዕቱ። ማቴዎስ፡ ማርቆስ፡ ሉቃስ፡ ዮሓንስ። below, at the end of the 73 sections: ተፈጸመ፡ ቀመር፡ ቀዳማዊ፡ ዘኅብሩ፡ አርባዕቱ፡ ወንጌላዊ[ያ]ን፡ ፸ወ፫፡ መሥመር። (Fig. 19)
    b. (f. 218v) The second canon for the three Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke: ሥ[ር]ዓተ፡ ቀመር፡ ክልኤተ፡ ዘኅብሩ፡ ፫ [፡] ወንጌላዊያን። ማቴዎስ። ማርቆስ። ሉቃስ። below, at the end of the 111 sections: ተፈጸመ፡ ቀመር፡ ዳግማዊ፡ ዘኅብሩ፡ ፫ [፡] ወንጌላዊያን፡ ፻፲ወ፩፡ መሥመር።
    c. (f. 219ra) The third canon for the three Gospels of Matthew, Luke and John: ሥርዓተ፡ ቀመር፡ ፫ዘኅብሩ፡ ፫፡ ማቴዎስ። ሉቃስ። ወዮሐንስ። below, at the end of the 21 sections: ተፈጸመ፡ ቀመር፡ ሣልስ፡ ዘኅብሩ፡ ፫ [፡] ፳፩፡ መስመር።
    d. (f. 219rb) The fourth canon for the three Gospels of Matthew, Mark and John: ሥርዓተ፡ ቀመር፡ ፬ [፡] ዘኅብሩ፡ ፫ [፡] ማቴዎስ። ማርቆስ። የሐንስ (*sic*!)። below, at the end of the 26 sections: ተፈጸመ፡ ቀመር፡ ራብዕ፡ ዘኅብሩ፡ ፫ [፡] ፳፮፡ መሥመር።
    e. (f. 219v) The fifth canon for the two Gospels of Matthew and Luke: ሥርዓተ፡ ቀመር፡ ኃምስ፡ ለዘ፡ ኅብሩ፡ ፪ [፡] ወንጌላዊያን፡ ማቴዎስ። ሉቃስ።
    f. (f. 220ra) The sixth canon for two Gospels of Matthew and Mark: ሥርዓተ፡ ቀመር፡ ፮ [፡] ዘኅብሩ፡ ፪፡ ማቴዎስ፡ ማርቆስ።

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[21] Zuurmond 1989 I: 23.
[22] Ed. Wechsler 2005.
[23] Cowley 1977: 160. On the Ethiopic Canon Tables, see Grébaut 1913; Leroy 1962; Zuurmond 1989 I: 20-21; Heldman 2003; Bausi 2004.

g. (f. 220rb) The seventh canon for the two Gospels of Matthew and John: ሥርዓተ ፡ ቀመር ፡ ሰብዕ ፡ <ዘ>ዘኅብሩ ፡ ፪ ፡ ማቴዎስ ፡ ዮሓንስ ፡
h. (f. 220va) The eighth canon for the two Gospels of Mark and Luke: ሥርዓ[ተ] ፡ ቀመር ፡ ሰምን ፡ ዘኅብሩ ፡ ፪ ፡ ወንጌላዊ[ያን ፡] ማርቆስ ። ሉቃስ ።
i. (f. 220vb) The ninth canon for the two Gospels of Luke and John: ሥርዓተ ፡ ቀመር ፡ ፱ ፡ ዘኅብሩ ፡ ፪ ፡ ሉቃስ ። ዮሐንስ ።
j. (f. 221ra) The tenth canon, showing the passages unique to the Gospel of Matthew: ሥርዓተ ፡ ቀመር ፡ ፲ ፡ ባሕቲቱ ፡ ማቴዎስ ። <ማቴዎስ ።>
k. (f. 221rb) Passages unique to the Gospel of Mark: ሥርዓተ ፡ ቀመር ፡ ፲፩ ፡ ባሕቲቱ ፡ ማርቆስ ።
l. (f. 221va) Passages unique to the Gospel of Luke: ሥርዓተ ፡ ቀመር ፡ ሉቃስ ፡ ባሕቲቱ ። below, at the end of the 72 sections: ተፈጸመ ፡ ቀመር ፡ ዐሥር ፡ ሉቃስ ፡ ባሕቲቱ ፡ ፸፪ ፡ መስመር ።
m. (f. 221vb) Passages unique to the Gospel of John: ሥርዓተ ፡ ቀመር ፡ ዮሐንስ ፡ ባሕቲቱ ። below, at the end of the 99 sections: ተፈጸመ ፡ ቀመር ፡ ዘዮሐንስ ፡ ባሕቲቱ ፡ ፺፱ ፡ መሥመር ።

3. *Observations*

Blank pages: ff. 1r; 15r; 16r (originally blank, later used for a secondary text, see above); 16v-17r; 19r; 74v-75r; 76v-77r; 113r; 167v-168r; 169v-170r; 215v.

Sketches: f. 8v, a seated figure (Apostle?) writing on a folio; f. 15v, 342 figures (martyrs?) in a grid; f. 216r, the Crucifixion; f. 217v, an equestrian saint (by a later hand).

Punctuation system: a colon is used in the traditional way for word separation; a nine-dotted-asterisk mark as a full-stop. Occasionally the beginning of a new sentence is also marked by black-red dots in the margin. There are usually two nine-dotted asterisks — in black and red ink and separated by a double black line — at the end of each section. In some cases, the sections that follow are separated with a straight line of black and red dashes and dots (e.g., ff. 24v, 28r, and 71va). Some fragments, mostly quotations, are marked with black-red dots on the margin (e.g., f. 25rb; Fig. 2).

At the beginning of a new Gospel chapter there is usually a red Chi-Rho sign on the left margin, sometimes accompanied by the red letter ም (after ምዕራፍ *mǝʿǝraf*) indicating the end of a chapter (e.g., f. 22v for Matt 3; f. 25r for Matt 5). The title of the chapter is usually given on the top margin (*kephalaia*) (e.g., f. 25r: ፭ በእንተ ፡ ብፁዓን ። "5. Concerning beatitudes"; Fig. 2). The beginning of a new section of the text is indicated by a double horizontal line in red; the number of the section is written in black between the two lines; in several instances, there is a second number, which marks the

number of the canon,[24] written in red below it; and a cross, in red, is often placed above it (Fig. 2).

4. *Palaeography*

The palaeography of the manuscript corresponds with the second or early third period of Uhlig's classification.[25] The individual letters are widely spaced ("Quadratschrift"). Along the whole manuscript, the letters with two legs, such as *'a, b, d, s, ṣ* and *z*, are written in such a manner that the left leg is shorter in all orders; this can make it difficult to distinguish between their first and fourth order. The letters *s* in the first and sixth order usually are clearly distinguished. The loops of *m* in all the orders are not yet separated, they have often a triangular form like in the first period, and the top stroke is slanted. The body of the letter *r* of the first order is angular; similarly, the bodies of *d* and *ṣ* tend to be triangular. The loop of *g* in the sixth order is small and triangular. Also, the body loop of *'a* and *ḍ* in all the orders has tendency towards the triangular form. The loop marker of the fifth order of *g, l,* and *q* is usually attached to the body of the letter with a short stroke. Instead, the loop of *to* and *qo* is triangular. The vowel marker of *'a, t, ḥ, q, n,* and *z* in the sixth order is a short horizontal stroke. In the letters having down-side marker of the fifth order such as *r, z,* and *b*, the loop is closed and clearly distinguished from the stroke-marker for the third order. The hook marker of *y* is long and horizontal, similarly as the stroke of *ḫ*. The ligature of the letters *g* and *zi* in the word **እግዚአብሔር** is frequently used.

5. *Text*

The text of the Gospels is complete, except for the verses of Luke 13:4-5 (f. 145vb), which are omitted by a homeoteleuton (**ኵልክሙ** ... **ኵልክሙ**). Further additions on the margins include the *probationes calami*, f. 108r. One of the characteristics of the text is the constant addition of the title "Lord" to the name of Jesus: **እግዚእ ፡ ኢየሱስ** throughout the entire manuscript. The words considered an error were erased or simply cancelled with a pencil, e.g., **እንጋ** on f. 30ra. Corrections and lacking fragments of the text were probably added in early times. The additional words are usually placed above the line.

The text of Matthew is almost identical with that of ms. 37 in Zuur-

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24 On this function, see Lepage – Mercier 2012: 101.
25 Uhlig 1990: 58.

mond's edition (= EMML 6942, Betä Amanu'el, Lasta, fifteenth or early sixteenth century),[26] which is close to the Cb-text family.[27]

The shorter ending of the Gospel of Mark, which follows immediately after Mark 16:8 and precedes the verses 9-20 (f. 110rb), is like that in mss. CabcD 13, 15, 38, 200, 253: ወኵሉ፡ ዘአዘዘ፡ ለጴጥሮስ፡ ወእሊአሁ፡ ፈጺሞ፡ ዘንተ፡ ነገረ። ወእምድኅረዝ፡ አስተርአየ፡ ሎሙ፡ እግዚእነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ እምሥራቀ፡ ፀሓይ፡ እስከ፡ ምዕራብ፡ ወፈነዎሙ፡ ይስብኩ፡ በወንጌል፡ ቅዱስ፡ ዘኢይማስን፡ ለመድኀኒት፡ ዘለዓለም ።=።[28]

Christ's genealogy in the Gospel of Luke, on folio 121r, is written as an index and divided into two columns. A similar form can be seen in a Gospel manuscript in the collection of Walters Art Museum (= WM), which is decorated with miniatures that are stylistically and iconographically close to PC.[29] The so-called *Pericope Adulterae* from the Gospel of John 7:53-8:11, *inc.* ወገብኡ፡ ለለ፡ አሐዱ፡ እምኔሆሙ፡ is on folios 187va-188rb.[30]

Below, is a comparison between some specific lessons of Matthew and Mark in PC and in the Gospel of Abba Gärima I (sign. A), which are related to the other manuscripts in Zuurmond's edition:

— Matt 1:18a (f. 21ra)
PC ወለእግዚእ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ከመዝ፡ ውእቱ፡ ልደቱ፡ ወሶበ፡ ተፍኅረት፡ እሙ፡ ድንግል፡ ማርያም፡ ለዮሴፍ። (= CbcDE 37)
A ወከመዝ፡ ውእቱ፡ ልድቱ፡ ለኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ፈኀራ፡ ዮሴፍ፡ ለማርያ፡ እሙ፡

— Matt 1:18b (f. 21ra)
PC ወዘእንበለ፡ ይትቃረቡ፡ ተረክበት፡ እንዘባ፡ ውስተ፡ ማኅፀና፡ ፅንስተ፡ እመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ። (= CaD 37)
A ወዘእንበለ፡ ይቅረባ፡ ተረክበት፡ ፅንስተ፡ እመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ።

— Matt 1:24 (f. 21rb)
PC ወነሥአ፡ እንተ፡ ተፍኅረት፡ ሎቱ፡ (= Cc 37)
A ወነሥአ፡ ለብእሲቱ፡
cf. also Cc-text in ms. 31 of Zuurmond [= ZG]

— Mark 1:2a (f. 72ra)
PC በከመ፡ ጽሑፍ፡ ውስተ፡ መጽሐፈ፡ ኢሳይያስ፡ ነቢይ፡ (Cc om. መጽሐፈ | DE om. ኢሳይያስ)

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[26] Zuurmond 1989 II: 71-72.

[27] Zuurmond 1989 I: 75-76.

[28] Metzger 1972: 165-180.

[29] Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, first half of the 16th cent. (?), sign. W. 850, f. 104rv. On this manuscript, see Mann 2004. Both PC and WM were sold by Sam Fogg Rare Books and Manuscripts, London, and came from a private collection in France. A late 19th-century endnote in this latter manuscript (f. 95r) mentions the church of Mağāte Mädḫane 'Aläm.

[30] Wechsler 2005: 200-202.

A በከመ ፡ ጽሑፍ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ነቢያት ፡

— Mark 1:2b (f. 72ra)
PC ናሁ ፡ አነ ፡ እፌኑ ፡ መልአክየ ፡ ዘይጸዩሕ ፡ ፍኖተ ፡ በቅድሜሁ ፡
A ናሁ ፡ አነ ፡ እፌኑ ፡ መልአክየ ፡ ቅድመ ፡ ገጽከ ፡ ዘይጸይሕ ፡ ፍኖተከ ።

— Mark 1:3b (f. 78ra)
PC በገዳም ። ወይብል ፡ ጺሐአ ፡ ፍኖቶ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ (ወይብል add. also AbCDE 37)

— Mark 1:7 (f. 78rb)
PC ዘ[ኢ]ይደልወኒ ፡ እድንን ፡ ወእፍታሕ ፡ ቱታእነ ፡ አሣእኒሁ ፡ እምእገሪሁ ። (እምእገሪሁ add. also AbCabcDE 37)
Gr. οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς κύψας λῦσαι τὸν ἱμάντα τῶν ὑποδημάτων αὐτοῦ·

— Mark 3:28 (f. 82vb)
PC አማን ፡ አማን<ን> ፡ እብለከሙ ፡ (አማን ፡ አማን CDE)
A አሜን ፡ እብለከሙ ፡

— Mark 4:1 (f. 83ra-b)
PC ወአኀዘ ፡ ካዕበ ፡ እግዚእ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ይምሓሮሙ ፡ ለሕዝብ ፡ በመንገለ ፡ ባሕር ። (ለሕዝብ add. also CD 37)
A ወአኀዘ ፡ ካዕበ ፡ ይመህሮሙ ፡ በመንገለ ፡ ባሕር ፡

— Mark 5:30b (f. 86rb)
PC ወይቤሎሙ ፡ መኑ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ዘገሰሰኒ ፡ ጽንፈ ፡ ልብስየ ፡ በድኅሬየ ፡
A ወይቤሎሙ ፡ መኑ ፡ ገሰሰኒ ፡ ልብስየ ፡

— Mark 5:43 (f. 86vb)
PC ከመ ፡ አልቦ ፡ ዘየአምር ።
A ከመ ፡ አልቦ ፡ ዘያእምር ፡ ወአዘዘ ፡ የሀብዋ ፡ ዘትበልዕ ።

— Mark 6:20a (f. 87vb)
PC ብእሲ ፡ ጻድቅ ፡ ወቅዱስ ፡ ወነቢይ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ (= Cbc)
A ብእሲ ፡ ጻድቅ ፡ ወቅዱስ ፡ ውእቱ ፡

— Mark 6:38 (f. 88vb)
PC ወይቤልዎ ፡ ኀምስ ፡ ኅብስት ፡ ወክልኤቲ ፡ ዓሣት ፡ (ኅብስት add. also AbCd 2 37)
Gr. λέγουσιν, πέντε, καὶ δύο ἰχθύας.

— Mark 7:28 (f. 91ra)
PC እወ ፡ እግዚኦ ፡ ከለባትኒ ፡ እንከሰ ፡ ኳ ፡ ይበልዑ ፡ (እንከሰ ፡ ኳ ፡ add. also Cb 16 32 37)
A እወ ፡ እግዚኦ ፡ ከለባትኒ ፡ ይበልዑ ፡

— Mark 8:28 (f. 92vb)

PC እምነቢያት ፡ ቀዳምት [፡] ተንሥአ ። (add. ቀደምት Cbcd 37 251 252; add. ቀደምት ፡ ተንሥአ 253)

6. *Marginals*

A. On several pages there is a note which attributes the ownership of PC to a church or monastery called Däbrä Amanu'el of Däblən of Wä[n]bärma. The note includes a "protective formula" under the authority of a priest called Gäbrä Maryam Qal and the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul. This note, which is almost the same throughout the text, with some secondary variants, was written in a much later period (possibly the eighteenth or nineteenth century?). Wä[n]bärma is most probably the historic Wämbärma district in West Goǧǧam, Amhara regional state. Däblan, South Gondär, is mentioned in the 17th-century royal chronicles (cf. EAe 5: 116a). There is a locality named Amanu'el in this region, ca 30 km north-west from Däbrä Marqos. However, the exact place of the church mentioned in the manuscript could not be precisely attested by the sources accessible to the authors.

a. (f. 20r) on the bottom margin: ዝመጽሐፍ ፡ ዘደብልን ፡ አማኑኤል ፡ ዘወንበርማ ፡ ዘሠረቆ ፡ ወዘፈሐቆ ፡ ወዘወሰደ ፡ በዘረፋ ፡ ውጉዘ ፡ ለይኩን ፡ በቄስ ፡ //'///// ቃል ፡ ወበሥልጣነ ፡ ጳጥሮስ ፡ ወጳውሎስ "This is the book of Däblən Amanu'el, of Wänbärma. May the one who stole it, or who erased it, or who took it away by pillage, be excommunicated, so be it, by the Priest [Gäbrä Maryam] Qal, and by the authority of (Saints) Peter and Paul."

b. (f. 217v) in the centre of the page, in two sections divided with a simple line: — ዝመጽሐፍ ፡ ዘደብረ ፡ አማኑኤል ፡ ዘደብል[ን] ፡ ዘወ[... (unfinished); — ዝመጽሐፍ ፡ ዘደብረ ፡ አማኑኤል ፡ ዘደብልን ፡ ዘወበርማ ፡ ዘሠረቆ ፡ ወዘፈሐቆ ፡ <ወዘፈሐቆ ፡> [ው]ጉዘ ፡ ለይኩን ፡ በቄስ ፡ ገብረ ፡ ////////// ፡ ወበሥልጣነ ፡ ጴጥሮስ ፡ ወጳውሎስ "This (is the) book of Däbrä Amanu'el, of Däblən of Wä[n]bärma. May the one who stole it or who erased it be excommunicated, so be it, by the Priest Gäbrä (Maryam Qal) and by authority of (Saints) Peter and Paul."

c. (f. 218r) on the lower margin, in a single line frame: ዝመጽሐፍ ፡ ዘደብልን ፡ አማኑኤል ፡ ዘወበርማ ፡ ዘሰረቆ ፡ ወዘፈሐቆ ፡ ውጉዝ ፡ በቄስ ፡ ገብረ ፡ ማርያም ፡ ቃል ። ። ። ። "This is the book of Däblən Amanu'el of Wä[n]bärma. May the one who stole it or who erased it be excommunicated by the Priest Gäbrä Maryam Qal." (Fig. 19)

B. On the upper margin of folio 26vb, the two quotations of Matt 18:8 and Mark 9:45 were added posteriorly (seventeenth or eighteenth century?): ወእመኒ ፡ እግርከ ፡ ዘየማን ፡ ታስህተከ ፡ ምትራ ፡ ወግድፍ ፡ እምላዕሌከ ። እስመ ፡ ይኄይሰከ ፡

ኃንከስከ ፡ ትባእ ፡ እስተ ፡ መንግሥተ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ እምትባእ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ፩ሆን ፡ አእጋሪከ ፡ ውስተ ፡ እሳተ ፡ ገሃነም ።

7. *Miniatures*

The manuscript is richly decorated and has 25 miniatures apparently drawn by the same hand, but — as argued below — possibly painted by a second artist:

— Procession of the Three Kings (ff. 3r-6r)
— The Adoration of the Three Kings and the Shepherds (f. 6v)
— The Nativity (f. 7r)
— The Circumcision of Christ and his Baptism (f. 7v)
— The Wedding at Cana (f. 8r)
— Christ Crucified between the Two Thieves (f. 17v)
— The Washing of the Disciples' Feet (f. 18r)
— The Arrest of Christ (f. 18v)
— St. Matthew the Evangelist (f. 19v)
— The Transfiguration of Christ (f. 74r)
— St. Tewogʷilos (f. 75v)
— St. Zäkarəyas (f. 76r)
— St. Mark the Evangelist (f. 77v)
— St. Luke the Evangelist (f. 113v)
— The Crucified Christ with the Virgin Mary and St. John (ff. 168v-169r)
— St. John the Evangelist (f. 170v)
— The Ascension of Christ (f. 216v)
— St. Sebastian (?) (f. 217r)

The miniatures are placed between text sections, which, starting from f. 9r are framed with *ḥaräg* at the beginning. On ff. 3r-18v the miniatures are painted on both sides of the folio, whereas from f. 19 onwards one side is always left blank. Although the manuscript does not bear evidence of its provenance, the miniatures and *ḥaräg* are painted in a style that recalls a number of examples that have been associated with the monastery of Gundä Gunde.[31] The miniature of the Nativity has been analysed by Mercier, according to whom the manuscript was produced in the same scripto-

[31] On the *ḥaräg*, see Perczel 1989; Zanotti – Eman 1993: esp. 67, fig. 2; 1993b. For the style of miniatures, see Mordini 1953; Heldman 1989; 1993b: cat. nos. 91-92; Mercier 2000: 84-91; 2004: 44, 68-72, 98-100, 108, 116; Balicka-Witakowska 2005d, with further bibliography. The literature on Gundä Gunde and on the figures associated to this establishment is too extensive to be listed in full here, for an introduction and further bibliography, see Beylot 2005.

rium and possibly by the same artist who painted WM.[32] However, a more detailed analysis shows that the two manuscripts are not close enough in terms of style to suggest that they were illuminated by the same artists (see section on Evangelists below). On the other hand, it is unquestionable that they display a number of iconographic similarities, which are particularly evident in the motifs of the Adoration of the Three Kings and the Shepherds, the Transfiguration, and the Ascension (see below). The strong similarities support the idea of a relationship between the two manuscripts. Therefore, it is possible that they were produced in the same scriptorium, but (unless Mercier had access to information which he does not disclose) our knowledge about the working methods of Ethiopian illuminators is still too limited to reach firm conclusions on such matters.

8. *The Procession Scene*

General Remarks

As mentioned in the introduction, the beginning of the manuscript is decorated by a series of illuminations showing the Three Kings, surrounded by a large retinue, advancing towards a large encampment and, ultimately, towards Bethlehem. The first three pages show the baggage train of the procession (ff. 3r-4r). The next three show the Three Kings surrounded by their pages (ff. 4v-5v). Folio 6r shows their encampment, while folio 6v shows them in adoration together with other figures. Finally, folio 7r shows the Virgin and Child surrounded by a host of angels. It is towards this latter group that all the figures in the previous folios proceed. This extensive narrative sequence is without parallels in illuminated Gospels of the early Solomonic period (1270-1527), in which a subject usually extends over one or two pages.[33] What is most interesting is that the artist appears to have depicted the procession of the Three Kings in terms appropriated from real life as if he had an Ethiopian royal procession in mind when he painted this subject. In other words, as suggested by the internal evidence analysed below, this scene mirrors, to an extent, the customs of the Ethiopian court. Therefore, it is also worthwhile to study it in the light of roughly coeval primary sources, such as the *Chronicle of Zär'a Ya'əqob*[34] and the *Ho Preste Joam das indias. Verdadera informaçam das terras do Preste Joam*,[35] which

[32] Mercier 2004: 122.

[33] Balicka-Witakowska – Bausi – Bosc-Tiessé – Nosnitsin 2015: 166-167.

[34] The edition used here is the one by Perruchon 1893. On this text, see also Kropp 1983-84: 58-59; Derat 2006; Kaplan – Derat 2014.

[35] The edition used here is the revised translation by Beckingham – Huntingford 1961.

contain information about such customs. Earlier and later sources, such as the *História da Etiópia* by Pedro Páez,[36] may also be of some value.

The Baggage Train (Figs. 3-4)

The miniatures on the first three pages (ff. 3r-4r) show the tail of the procession and are divided into three registers: the upper depicting warriors on horseback; the middle camels laden with goods; and the lower servants, warriors on foot, goats, and donkeys. The warriors in the upper register, four per folio, are portrayed like saints on horseback: they are mounted on a rearing horse, have a halo, and hold a spear. They wear a long tunic, Turkish-style trousers, and a cloak painted in varying patterns of yellow and orange.[37] The spears of the first eight warriors are cross-shaped,[38] but otherwise the twelve figures are painted in almost identical fashion. According to Alvarez's account, numerous guards travelled next to the property of the Emperor Ləbnä Dəngəl when he is on the move.[39] Whereas from later descriptions of the peripatetic life of the Ethiopian court we learn that it was customary to place "a captain with a large number of warriors" behind the baggage train to protect it, so it is possible that the mounted warriors in the upper register of folios 3r-4r function as the rearguard of the procession.[40]

There are three camels in the middle register of each folio. Each camel has baggage or supplies tied to its back and a rope around its neck, which is attached to the tail of the camel in front. The rope around the neck of the third camel on folio 3r touches the right border frame and the rope tied to the tail of the first camel on folio 3v extends towards the left border of the frame, giving the impression that these two camels are tied to each other. The third camel on folio 3v and first on folio 4r also seem to be tied together, an observation which reinforces the suggestion that the illuminations from folios 3r-7r are part of the same scene. The third camel on folio 3r and the middle camel on verso of the same folio carry baskets that are painted

[36] The translation used here is the one edited by Boavida – Pennec – João Ramos 2011. For more details about this text and further bibliography, see Martínez d'Alòs-Moner 2010.

[37] Some pigments of the illuminations have changed beyond recognition and require a technical analysis to be identified.

[38] The detail of the cross-shaped spear is occasionally found in others 15th-cent. examples of saints on horseback, as shown, for instance, by two examples in the Institute of Ethiopian Studies in Addis Ababa, coll. nos. 3890 and 6038, see Chojnacki 1973b: 60-61 for reproductions. For a more comprehensive discussion of this detail and a more general study of the iconography of Warrior saints on horseback in Ethiopian art, see Chojnacki 1973a; 1973b; 1996; and Balicka-Witakowska 2005c.

[39] Beckingham – Huntingford 1961 II: 447.

[40] Boavida – Pennec – João Ramos 2011 I: 173.

in a manner which brings modern Ethiopian basketry to mind.[41] Several of the camels carry flasks and amphorae, presumably containing water, wine, *säwa*, or *ṭäǧǧ*.[42] Others have large bundles on their backs, which probably represent the "the tents and provisions and camp equipment"[43] of the Three Kings and their retinue.

In the lower register of folio 3r two goats — which can be distinguished from the equines by their upright tail — are tied together by their necks with a chord the end of which is held by a bare-chested man who is carrying a bag on his head. Ahead of them are two donkeys or mules,[44] the first led by a man who is balancing a large basket on his head, and the second led by a warrior who is carrying a spear and a round shield in his left hand. They are preceded by two more warriors, who brandish a spear, a white shield,[45] and a sword. One of these warriors also carries a large horn which hangs from a strap on his shoulder. Two more donkeys, with baggage strapped onto their back, are at the head of the group.

A similar arrangement of figures is seen in the lower register of the two following folios. However, in folio 3v there are only three men armed with a bow and arrows and with a quiver on their shoulder. The detail of the mother goat nursing her kids in the lower left corner is worthy of notice as it adds a touch of realism to the scene. In folio 4r, there are five men as in folio 3r, but four of them have a cross-shaped pendant tied around their neck with a white strip of cloth. Other differences are the dagger strapped

[41] According to Alvarez, the Emperor's treasure and precious textiles are carried in baskets along with his other property (Beckingham – Huntingford II: 448).

[42] Alvarez informs us that Emperor Dawit II kept jars of wine, *säwa*, and *ṭäǧǧ* in one of his tents, see Beckingham – Huntingford 1961 II: 335, and that he never travelled without such beverages, see Beckingham – Huntingford 1961 II: 337; he also asserts that camels were used only when travelling "in the flat lands," see Beckingham – Huntingford 1961 I: 321.

[43] Boavida – Pennec – João Ramos 2011 I: 173.

[44] It is interesting that the two animals are unburdened, though it is difficult to explain why this is so. When describing the manner in which the Ethiopian emperor travelled, Alvarez tells us that "six very handsome and richly caparisoned horses," without riders, are led by the halter by a group of pages walking in front of the emperor, and that "six mules saddled and very well furnished" go in front of these horses, cf. Beckingham – Huntingford 1961 II: 336. As discussed below, unmounted caparisoned horses, like the ones in Alvarez's description, are seen in ff. 5v-6v behind the Three Kings rather than in front of them. Therefore, it is possible that the pairs of unburdened equines on ff. 3r-4r represent the kings' mules, although their lack of adornment runs against this suggestion.

[45] According to Páez, when the Emperor travels he is followed by "800 young men with white shields" and by the same number of men "with black shields," cf. Boavida – Pennec – João Ramos 2011 I: 172. Soldiers carrying white shields can also be seen in other 15th cent. depictions of warriors, as shown by a miniature from a Gospel from Gundä Gunde, inv. no. 442 (f. 122r); and a "portrait" of prince Yǝmrǝḥannä Ǝgzi', see Bausi 1994: 59-62, fig. 7 for a reproduction and discussion.

to the belt of the man carrying a basket on his head, and the fact that the two men at the forefront are armed with a mace rather than a shield and spear. The warrior in the upper row has a large horn like his counterpart on folio 3r, while the soldier below him is shown holding a flask or a leather bottle such as the ones seen in folio 6v.

Carriers can occasionally be seen in Ethiopian art of the early Solomonic period, both in religious and secular themes, as demonstrated, for instance, by the figures in the church of Qorqor Maryam[46] and in the "portrait" of Yəmrəḥannä Ǝgzi'.[47] However, the extensive set of illuminations showing the Three Kings' baggage train in PC is, as far as our knowledge goes, highly unusual. In Gəʿəz literature there are a number of texts which deal with the Three Kings and add to the information given in the Gospel of Matthew (2:1-12). In all likelihood, the illuminator of PC was inspired from such sources as the *Sənkəssar*, the *Tä'ammərä Iyäsus*, and the *Tä'ammərä Maryam*, according to which the Three Kings were accompanied by a large retinue of men.[48] The presence of twelve horsemen could also be linked to such apocryphal accounts. This is not to detract from the inventiveness of the artist, who skilfully combines extra-biblical traditions concerning the infancy of Jesus with elements drawn from his own experience, thus creating a scene that must have seemed both accurate and vivid to his contemporaries.

The Three Kings (Figs. 5-6)

The next three pages (ff. 4v-5v) show the Three Kings or Magi (ሰብአ ፡ ሰገል *säb'a sägäl* or መሰግላን *mäsäggəlan*),[49] one on each page, surrounded by their retinue. These three illuminations, like the three that precede them, are divided into three registers and are very similar to each other. In folio 4v the inscription at the top of the page reads: "Image of the Magi, the 3 Kings, how they came with their troops, following the star from the East, to the [new]born Saviour of the World, Christ. The name of this king is Albətar."[50] King Albətar is placed at the centre of the middle register. He

[46] For a discussion on this church, and a reproduction of the two figures below the angel Michael, see Tribe 1997: fig. 6.

[47] Bausi 1994: fig. 7.

[48] For an overview of this tradition in Ethiopic and Oriental literature, with further bibliography, see Witakowski 1999. For an extensive bibliography on the Three Kings in the apocrypha, see Starowieyski 2003: 876-879.

[49] On the names of the Three Kings in the Ethiopic tradition, see Witakowski 1999: esp. 82-87.

[50] ሥዕለ ፡ ሰብአ ፡ ሰገል ፡ ፫ ፡ ነገሥታት ፡ ዘከመ ፡ መጽኡ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ሐራሆሙ ፡ በምርሃተ ፡ ኮከብ ፡ እም|ሥራቅ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ተወልደ ፡ መድኀኔ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ክርስቶስ ። ለዝ ፡ ስሙ ፡ አልብታር ፡ ንጉሥ ። = ። The same name is given to a king who brought the frankincense in the *Homily on the Virgin Mary* dedicated for 3

has a discoloured halo and a short beard, is dressed in a greyish cloak, and has a red tunic and trousers that draw in tightly at the wrists and ankles. With his right hand, he holds a cross-shaped spear like the ones held by the mounted warriors in folio 3, whereas in his left hand he holds the reins of his mount. He is not wearing a crown or any head adornment. The ears of his mount are longer than the triangular-shaped ears of the other mounts, which suggests that he may be riding a mule.[51]

Flanking the King's mount is an official carrying a white umbrella (ድባብ *dəbab*), which is decorated with coloured fringes and held up on a pole. The author of the *Chronicle of Zär'a Ya'əqob* tells us that when the king travelled he had three men near him carrying a baldachin.[52] The treatment of the motif of the Three Kings in PC departs from the usual iconography of this theme in Ethiopian illumination of the early Solomonic period.[53] However, such umbrellas often appear as a royal attribute in Ethiopian art of the fifteenth century, especially in depictions of the Kings David and Solomon.[54] Behind the King Albətar is a page who has a slanted cross-shaped pendant similar to the ones seen in f. 4r and leads an unridden caparisoned horse. The presence of this mount echoes Alvarez's description of Ləbnä Dəngəl's custom of having "six very handsome and richly caparisoned horses" near him when travelling.[55] It is unclear whether the figure riding in front of King Albətar is a warrior or a cleric. The fact that he has a halo does not provide conclusive evidence, as the warriors on horseback in the baggage train are also nimbed. However, the fact that he is unarmed makes it more likely that he is a high-ranking clergyman, possibly the Time Keeper (ዐቃቤ ፡ ሰዓት *'aqqabe sä'at*), who was responsible for the Emperor's schedule, and

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Taḫśaś from the *Dərsanä Maryam* in Vat. et. 268 (15th cent.; Lantshoot 1962: 469-471), f. 27vb: ወአልብታር ፡ ወሀበ ፡ ስኂነ ። "And Albətar offered the frankincense;" see also EMML 3998 (19th cent.), ff. 48vb-49ra, Witakowski 1999: 81, n. 63.

[51] According to the later testimony of Pedro Páez, the emperor "rides a horse or a mule, as he wishes, but ordinarily they all ride mules with the horses in reserve in front," see Boavida – Pennec – João Ramos 2011 I: 171.

[52] Perruchon 1893: 44.

[53] On this subject in Ethiopian Gospel illumination, see Heldman 1972: 151-154; and Balicka-Witakowska 1983: 5-7.

[54] For a more detailed discussion and further bibliography, see Balicka-Witakowska 2005. For some examples, see Heldman 1989: fig. 7; Juel-Jensen 1989: figs. 73-74; Balicka-Witakowska 1983: figs. 15, 29-30; 1984-86: fig. 34; Mercier 2000: 57; and Chojnacki 2009: fig. 1. In one of his conversations with Ləbnä Dəngəl, the emperor tells Alvarez that it was his custom to rest, eat, or sleep under an umbrella when travelling, see Beckingham – Huntingford 1961 II: 334.

[55] Beckingham – Huntingford II: 336. Pedro Páez observes that the emperor travelled with "six, or sometimes eight, very large and richly caparisoned spare horses," see Boavida – Pennec – João Ramos 2011 I: 172.

who, according to the account of Pedro Páez, customarily accompanied him during his journeys.[56]

The most interesting feature of the painting are the eight pages of the King, four in the upper register and four in the lower, who carry striped curtains. Their purpose is to prevent King Albətar from being seen, thus the illumination mirrors the pre-sixteenth-century Ethiopian custom of concealing the Emperor from view. This practice is well attested in a number of sources. For instance, in the *Chronicle of Zär'a Ya'əqob* we are told that when he travelled he was surrounded by groups of pages carrying a *šämma* (ሸማ).[57] Also Alvarez informs us that prior to the reign of the father of Ləbnä Dəngəl "no one of the people ever saw their King, and he was not seen except by a very few of his servants and courtiers" and that the Emperor himself appeared to his subjects only three times a year.[58] The Portuguese missionary also confirms that when the Emperor travels he is "surrounded by red curtains behind and on the sides, ample, long and high: he goes in the bay, and those who carry the curtain go outside, and carry it raised up with poles."[59] By the seventeenth century the custom was no longer being observed, but also according to Páez in "the old days [...] the emperors of Ethiopia did not allow themselves to be seen by anybody."[60] In the miniature the two lines of *šämma*-bearing pages are both led by a warrior holding a mace in one hand and a round-shaped object in the other. Moreover, the pages in the lower register of the painting have the same object in their right hand. It is difficult to be certain about the function of this object, but it may simply be a rock to be thrown at those who attempt to approach the King.

The painting on folio 5r is very similar to the one that has just been described. There are three main differences: the figure riding in front of the King is not nimbed; the page of the horse is also carrying the round-shape object which could be a rock; and the pages bearing curtains are not led by a warrior with a mace. The inscription at the top of the page continues the sentence of the previous folio and identifies the second Magi as King Awnə-

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[56] Boavida – Pennec – João Ramos 2011 I: 99-101. In the chronicle of Zär'a Ya'əqob, we are told that the *'aqqabe sä'at*, was one of the few men who had access to the Emperor at all times and had his tent placed near those of the King, see Perruchon 1893: 8, 25, 36. On this ecclesiastical official, see Kaplan 2003 with further bibliography.

[57] Perruchon 1893: 44.

[58] Beckingham – Huntingford 1961 II: 324.

[59] Beckingham – Huntingford 1961 II: 336. This is not the place to deal with the reasons for which Ethiopian emperors concealed themselves, although such a custom was probably related to notions of sacred kingship. For a study of this topic, see Conti Rossini 1947-48; Caquot 1957: esp. 210-212; and Braukämper 2007 with further bibliography.

[60] Boavida – Pennec – João Ramos 2011 I: 163.

son.[61] Folio 5v also resembles folio 4v. The last of the Three Magi is here referred to as King Kəsad.[62] The only noteworthy difference between this page and the previous two is that the page leading the caparisoned horse behind Kəsad also acts as his sword-bearer.[63] Like the *dəbab* carrier (*ṣäware dəbab*), the sword-bearer is often depicted together with a fly-whisk holder in representations of rulers in Ethiopian illumination of the fifteenth century.[64] The figure riding in front of King Kəsad seems to be holding a handkerchief, this adds weight to the hypothesis that the figures riding ahead of the Three Kings are clergymen as such handkerchiefs are always held by saints and other religious figures in fifteenth-century Ethiopian art.[65] In fact, the figures who ride in front of Kings Albətar and Awnəson are also carrying a similar strip of cloth, which is simply less evident due to the fact that it is the same colour of their robes.

The Encampment (Fig. 7)

Folio 6r is divided into four registers and shows an encampment (ከተማ *kätäma*) with tents and more members of the Three Kings' retinue. The inscription at the top of the page is damaged and thus cannot be read.[66]

In the upper register four men are shown playing wind instruments, which could be flutes (Amhr. እምቢልታ *əmbilta*)[67] or trumpets (Amhr. መለከት *mäläkät*).[68] Together with the three men in the third register — who are shown riding donkeys and holding a mallet with which they beat the drums (Amhr. ነጋሪት *nägarit*),[69] placed on the animals' backs — they announce the arrival of the Three Kings. According to Kimberlin the "*əmbilta*, along with

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[61] ወለዝኒ ፡ ካልዑ ፡ አውንሶን ፡ ንጉሥ ። The name of the king who brought the gold in the *Homily on the History of the Virgin Mary* is አውኖስን Awnosən, cf. ms. Vat. et. 268 (2), f. 27vb: አውኖስን ፡ አብአ ፡ ወርቀ ። "Awnosən brought the gold"; see also Witakowski 1999: 81.

[62] ወለዝኩኒ ፡ ሣልሶሙ ፡ ስሙ ፡ ክሳድ ፡ ንጉሥ ። The same name is given to the king who brought the myrrh in the *Homily on the History of the Virgin Mary* in ms. Vat. et. 268 (2), f. 27vb-28ra: ክሳድ ፡ | ወሀበ ፡ ከርቤ ። "Kəsad offered the myrrh"; see also Witakowski 1999: 81.

[63] In Pedro Páez's account we are told that the "page of the lance and others who bear the emperor's arms" travel next to his most lavishly ornamented spare horse, see Boavida – Pennec – João Ramos 2011 I: 172.

[64] For some examples, see Heldman 1989: Fig. 7; Juel-Jensen 1989: Fig. 73. In the former example the *ṣäware dəbab* also holds the fly-whisk, whereas in the latter it is held by a separate attendant.

[65] For some examples, see Heldman 1993b: cat. nos. 68 and 71; Mercier 2000: 59, 91.

[66] //// | ኀበ ፡ ትዕየ ////////// [ከባርው ፡ ?] ወአብዋቅ ። "... to/in the ... [drums] and trumpets."

[67] Leslau 1976: 123b; Kimberlin 2005.

[68] Leslau 1976: 17b. On these instruments in Ethiopia, see Kimberlin 2007; a figure blowing into a wind instrument is associated to a king in the wall paintings of the church of Yädəbba Maryam.

[69] Cf. Leslau 1976: 115b; Kimberlin 2007b. According to Pedro Páez when the emperor set

the *mäläkkät* and the *nägarit* represented ceremonial instruments or 'insignia of royalty'" used "to herald the approach of the king."[70] Indeed, in the *Chronicle of Zär'a Ya'əqob*, the arrival of the Emperor is announced by the beating of drums (ከበሮው *käbarəw*) and the blowing of horns (አቅርንት *'aqrənt*).[71] And, according to Pedro Páez, when the emperor does not march though perilous lands he "does not take banners or any captains at all, but just drums and shawms."[72] Strangely, the hair of the musicians in the upper register has been painted yellow. It is as if the person who coloured this image mistook the outline of their hair for a halo. It is improbable that the artist who drew the outlines would misinterpret his own work, so it seems more likely that a different artist was responsible for the colouring of the images.

Walking behind the musicians are two men, one in the upper register the other in the third register, carrying a whip with several ring-knots along its length. Interestingly, according to Alvarez, the Ethiopian emperor customarily had "men who carry whips of a short stick and a long leather thong," such as the ones depicted in folio 6r, go in front of him to make noise and clear the road ahead.[73] Once more, therefore, the iconography of the procession scene appears to follow the customs of the Ethiopian court as recorded in near-contemporary sources.

Roughly at the centre of the page, in the register between the two groups of musicians, are nine tents divided into groups of three. The central tent of each group is white and the two tents behind it are grey and red. At the top of each white tent is a character; combined they form the word ደበና *däbäna* (royal tent), indicating that the tents belong to the Three Magi. It is well-known that for a long period of time, especially prior to the foundation of Gondär, the rulers of Ethiopia did not settle down permanently in a capital but moved around their territories living in tents.[74] To judge by the manner in which the artist represented the encampment of the Three Magi in this folio, he seems to have had first-hand knowledge of how the Ethiopian court set up camp. In fact, the tents of the Three Kings are painted in white, a colour which, according to Alvarez, could only be used for the tents of the kings and for the churches.[75] It is more difficult to establish what the

off he was accompanied by the sound of drums carried by mules, see Boavida – Pennec – João Ramos 2011 I: 171.

[70] Kimberlin 2005: 274.

[71] Perruchon 1893: 35-36.

[72] Boavida – Pennec – João Ramos 2011 I: 173.

[73] Beckingham – Huntingford 1961 I: 296.

[74] For a more detailed study of this subject, with further bibliography, see Horvath 1969; Taddesse Tamrat 1972; Pankhurst 1979; 1983; and Agopoulos – Stylianoudi 2001.

[75] Beckingham – Huntingford 1961 I: 266-267. Horvath 1969: 209 asserts that also the

function of the two tents behind each *däbäna* might be, as there were a varying number of tents associated to the emperor's main tent. However, with regard to the red tents, it is worth mentioning that Alvarez says that a red tent was used for "for festivals or receptions."[76] According to Páez, once the area where the emperor's tents are to be pitched has been chosen, at least two tents are erected, sometimes together with a third "very large, round tent," called *däbäna*.[77]

Above and below the tents are enclosed by a line of striped coloured curtains (Amhr. መጋረጃ *mäggaräǧa*).[78] To an extent, their purpose is to conceal the lodgings of the Three Kings, and therefore the Kings themselves, from view, in agreement with the tradition discussed above. Moreover, according to the *Book of Light*, a king's residence would not be respected without enclosures, walls, and curtains, for people would come and go as they please.[79] Evidence of the practice of the concealment of the emperor's quarters is found in the *Chronicle of Zär'a Ya'əqob*, according to which the king had a palisade built along the route leading from his palace to the church of Däbrä Bərhan to avoid the gaze of onlookers.[80] Alvarez notes on several occasions that the king's tents are surrounded by curtains, possibly similar to the ones depicted in the manuscript, which he calls "mandilates."[81] Even during the time of Pedro Páez, when the rulers of Ethiopia were no longer in the habit of concealing themselves, the emperor's tents were surrounded "with curtains of cotton fabric woven in black and white, supported on poles taller than a man."[82]

A series of white tent-like structures can be seen below the drum players and next to the wind players. It is difficult to ascertain what they represent exactly. As noted above, according to Alvarez, only the emperor and the churches were allowed to use white tents, but the fact that the Portuguese were allowed to use such a tent means that this restriction may not have been as rigid as he says it was. It is unlikely to be a coincidence that the structures in the lower register are twelve in number and that those above are twenty-four, that is to say two times twelve. Indeed, it is likely that the tent-group of each Magi is associated to twelve tents. Do these represent

feudal élite used white-cotton tents, but does not support this claim with evidence.

[76] Beckingham – Huntingford 1961 I: 267.

[77] Páez (Boavida – Pennec – João Ramos 2011 I: 174). On the term *däbäna*, see Leslau 1987: 121a; cf. Kane 1990 II: 1786b: "royal tent made of black woolen cloth."

[78] Leslau 1978: 38a; Kane 1990 I: 340a.

[79] Conti Rossini 1965: 73.

[80] Perruchon 1893: 23-27; see also Ricci 1955-1958: 71, n. 64.

[81] Beckingham – Huntingford 1961 II: 327; 437.

[82] Boavida – Pennec – João Ramos 2011 I: 174.

churches associated to the tents of the Three Kings?[83] Or do they represent the tents of their followers, possibly creating a visual parallel with the twelve tribes of Jerusalem and the twelve noble families that came back to Ethiopia with the Ark of the Covenant? Alternately, are these structures to be understood as the twelve gates that give access to the emperors' compound and that are mentioned in several sources?[84] Only further research will clarify this point.

The Adoration of the Three Kings and the Shepherds (Fig. 8)

Folio 6v shows an unusual Adoration scene with nineteen figures and five animals. The inscription, taken from Matt 2:11, reads: "Image of the Magi, how they bent down on their knees. And opened treasures and offered [them] to the Lord Jesus, praise to Him."[85] The scene is divided into three registers, and each is further divided into smaller frames. In the upper register, the Three Kings and their followers are depicted offering their gifts. The figures in *proskynesis* in the left and central column have "a leather bottle"[86] (*ṣəfnät*) near them. A similar object, but with a longer caption,[87] is held by one of the two larger figures in the right column. The adjacent figure holds a basket with a caption reading "how they put this together into a coffer."[88] The coffer (ሣጹን *śaṣun*) is depicted below them.

Because the captions in the central and lower register are illegible it is difficult to identify the remaining figures. In an almost identical Adoration scene found in WM (f. 2v), the three figures next to the donkeys and cattle are identified by a caption as "shepherds"[89] (ኖሎት *nolot*). Therefore, we may surmise that also the three figures in the central register of PC are the shepherds mentioned in Luke 2:8-20.

In the lower register, five women are depicted next to one male figure.

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83 There are different accounts as to the number of churches present in the encampment of the Ethiopian emperor. According to Alvarez, thirteen *tabot* travelled with the emperor (Beckingham – Huntingford 1961 II: 323), although it is perfectly possible that one tent could house more than one tablet. The editors of Alvarez's text mention a manuscript in which the number is stated to be twelve (1961 II: n. 2). Páez says that only four altar tablets travelled with the emperor, although he observes that the custom may have changed since the time of the Portuguese mission, see Boavida – Pennec – João Ramos 2011 I: 171. It is possible that the number of churches present in the encampment was not fixed.

84 For a more detailed discussion, see Agopoulos – Stylianoudi 2001: esp. 66-68.

85 ሥዕለ ፡ ሰገል ፡ ዘከመ ፡ ሰገዱ ፡ በብረኪሆሙ ። ወፈትሑ ፡ መዛግብተ ፡ ወአምኁ ፡ ለ[እግዚእ ፡] ኢየሱስ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ ስብሐት ።

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87 ዘከመ ፡ ይፈትሑ ፡ ለአቁማዳ ፡ በእዴ ፡ "How they opened the bag in his hand;" for the Amharic word አቁማዳ *aqomada* "leather bag," see Leslau 1978: 132b, and Kane 1990 II: 1184b.

88 ዘከመ ፡ ይውዱ ፡ ዝሂ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሰጹን ፡

89 ኖሎት

The women in the left and centre are shown facing each other, whereas the woman and the man in the right section seem to observe the scene on the next page. The inscription over their heads has faded and can be read only by using image editing techniques. There is a caption, concerning the women, which reads: "Image of the 5 women who served Our Lord with [their] goods."[90] This lecture is fully confirmed by comparison with a similar miniature in WM (f. 2v), which features an identical caption. In this latter manuscript, the man to the far right is identified as "Joseph"[91]. The Synoptic Gospels are silent on the presence of any women besides Mary during the Nativity. However, in the apocryphal tradition, starting with the *Protoevangelium of James* (19-20), Salome is described as a midwife who bears witness to the miraculous birth of Jesus.[92] The woman next to Joseph is probably Salome. The identity of the other women remains to be determined, but they may be the women mentioned in the Gospel of Luke (8:2-3).[93] Three of them are named in the Gospel's passage: Mary Magdalene, Joanna, the wife of Chuza, and Susanna.[94]

The Nativity (Fig. 9)

Folio 7r shows an unusual interpretation of the Nativity, in which the Virgin and Child are surrounded by a host of angels with outspread wings. This scene exemplifies the erudite and inventive character of the PC illuminator. The inscription at the top of the page reads: "This is the image of Our Lady Mary and the Nativity in the cave of Bethlehem of Our Lord Jesus Christ, praise to Him. Image of the angels, how they spread out their wings and cast a shadow over the cave."[95] The star followed by the Three

[90] ሥዕለ፡ ፭ አንስት፡ እለ፡ ተልእኩሁ፡ ለእግዚእነ፡ በንዋዮን።; see the note 93.

[91] ዮሴፍ

[92] Cf. Hennecke-Schneemelcher-Wilson 1963 I: 385. The story of how the hand of Salome was burned when she touched the body of Mary to check on her pregnancy can be found in the Ethiopic version of the *Book of the Nativity* (*Mäṣḥafä lədäta läMaryam*), see Chaîne 1909: 14-15 (ed.), 12-13 (tr.). The same story is a separate episode in several manuscripts of the *Miracles of Mary*, see BAV Cerulli et. 196 (149), EMML 2058 (2.d.262), EMML 3872 (165). On Salome in Ethiopian depictions of the Nativity, see Lepage 1990: 800.

[93] Luke 8:2-3 (KJV): "And certain women, which had been healed of evil spirits and infirmities, Mary called Magdalene, out of whom went seven devils, and Joanna the wife of Chuza Herod's steward, and Susanna, and many others, which ministered unto him of their substance (Eth. እለ፡ ተልእኩሁ፡ በንዋዮን።)."

[94] The Ethiopic book of the *Miracles of Mary* features a story on three virgins who come to serve Our Lady Mary when she gave birth to her child, see EMML 2058, f. 59b and f. 162a; EMML 3872, f. 139a. This tradition seems to be taken from the apocryphal *Dormition of the Virgin Mary*, see Chaîne 1909: 26 (ed.), 22 (Latin tr.), where, however, the three women assisting Mary have no names.

[95] ዝንቱ፡ ሥዕለ፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ <ኀ|በ፡> ወልደቶ፡ በቤተ፡ ልሔም፡ ዘጎል [፡]| ለእግዚእነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ሎቱ፡ ስብሐት።። ሥዕለ፡ መላዕክት፡ በ|ከመ፡ ሰፍሑ፡ ክነፊሆሙ፡ ወ|ጸለሉ፡ መልዕልተ፡ ጎል።

Kings (cf. Matt 2:2), and mentioned in folio 4v, is also depicted at the top of the page. The two angels flaking the Virgin are labelled by an inscription as the archangels "Michael and Gabriel."[96] Michael holds a cross-staff and Gabriel holds a scroll. Both angels brandish swords and stretch one of their wings over the Virgin as a canopy.[97] The Virgin tenderly embraces the infant Jesus, bringing her cheek close to his,[98] as confirmed by the caption which reads "How she embraced [Him]."[99]

The iconography of this scene differs in several ways from earlier images of the Nativity in Ethiopic Gospels.[100] The Christ Child is held by his mother instead of being placed in a manger, and the ass and ox, usually painted next to the manger,[101] stand below the enthroned (?) Virgin look-

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[96] ሚካኤል ፡ |ወገብርኤል ።

[97] Depictions of Angels with their wings stretched over the Virgin appear already in examples of early Solomonic illumination, as shown by the Gospels Iyäsus Mo'a (= IM) (f. 15r), EMML 1832, cf. EMML V, 293-301; for a description of the illuminations, see Balicka-Witakowska 1997: 123-124. In the earliest surviving examples of the Virgin and Child in Ethiopian art the Angels are shown holding crosses and other religious paraphernalia, see Tribe 1997: fig. 6; Heldman 1994: 116-121, figs. 44, 66; Mercier 2004: 38, 60, 108, 114. From the 15th cent. they are increasingly shown holding a sword, see Balicka-Witakowska 2003: 266; Heldman 1994: 23-69, figs. 1, 3, 5, 8, 15, 31, 34, 37, 40, 58, 61; Mercier 2004: 45, 61, 64, 68, 71-73, 98-103, 105, 107, 117-119, 120. The artist of PC adopts an unusual iconographic formula by including both types of attribute.

[98] The artist of PC may have been influenced by an *Eleousa* or *Glykophilousa* type icon. During the early Solomonic period Ethiopian artists used a number of iconographic types to represent the Virgin and Child, including the *Kyriotissa*, the *Hodegetria*, and the *Panagia*; see Heldman 1994: 116-121; Chojnacki 1983: 171-366; 2002; and Mercier 2004 for some remarks on Marian iconography in early Solomonic Ethiopian art. Prior to the mid-15th cent., Ethiopian artists seldom emphasised the tenderness and physical link of motherhood between the Virgin and her Son, see Gnisci 2014: 211. The Gospels of Krəstos Täsfanä (= KT) in Addis Ababa, National Library, first half of the 14th cent., ms. 28, offer an early exception to this tendency; see Heldman 1994: 116-117, fig. 44 for a reproduction; on KT see also Pāwlos Ṣādwā 1952; Taddesse Tamrat 1970: 97-98; and Balicka-Witakowska 1997: esp. 124-125 with further bibliography. Between the 15th and the 16th centuries a number of post-Byzantine icons were introduced into Ethiopia, see Heldman 2005b; Bacci 1998: 228-234; Spencer 1974; 1972; Leroy 1971. Some of these icons show the Virgin and Child cheek to cheek as in the PC Nativity; see Heldman 2005b: fig. 8; 1994: 147, fig. 79; Chojnacki 2000: cat. no. 173; Spencer 1974: esp. 207; 1972: 93, for some examples.

[99] በከመ ፡ ሐቀፈቶ ።

[100] For further remarks about this theme in Ethiopian art, see Heldman 1972: 142-147; Chojnacki 1974; Balicka-Witakowska 1983: 5-7; Mercier 2004: 40; Lepage – Mercier 2012: 120-123.

[101] For some examples, see Lepage – Mercier 2012: figs. 8, 39; Chojnacki 1974; Heldman 1972: figs. 13, 42, 66, 88. The detail of the ass and ox, inspired by apocryphal texts, appears in the earliest surviving depiction of the Nativity in Ethiopian manuscript illumination, that is to in IM (f. 18r). An early example of a scene inspired by apocryphal writings on the infancy of Christ is found in the church of Betä Maryam in Lalibäla, which features a representation of *The Arrival of the Holy Family at Sotina*, and it is possible that the now-damaged frescoes

ing upwards. A caption clarifies their role: "Image of an ass and an ox, how they warmed Him."[102] The absence of Joseph and Salome is also uncharacteristic for illuminated Ethiopic Gospels of the early Solomonic period, as unorthodox is the absence of the adoring shepherds, who are generally depicted in a separate register below the Holy Family.[103]

The unusual iconography of the Virgin and Child in PC may be linked to the influence of extra-biblical traditions, for instance in the Ethiopic Synaxarium (29 *Taḫśaś*), in the section dealing with the commemoration of the Nativity, the star that appears to the Magi has the appearance of a Virgin who embraces her Son.[104] Indeed, the presence of the Magi on the opposite page (f. 6v) is likely to have contributed to the iconography of the PC Nativity, as the Virgin is generally shown enthroned in Ethiopian depictions of the Adoration of the Three Kings.[105] It should be noted that one angel appears in the majority of Ethiopian representations of this latter theme. The formula used to depict the Adoration of the Three Kings and the Nativity in the psalter of Belən Sägäd (= BS), which dates to the second half of the fifteenth century, is closer to the solution adopted in PC, as the Three Magi are shown prostrated on the page opposite the Nativity.[106] In most other respects the BS Nativity follows the earlier Ethiopian iconography of this subject. However, it is worth observing that an angel with a sword has been placed next to the Virgin, a detail which makes this miniature stand in closer relation to PC and places BS at an intermediary stage in the evolution of the motif of the Nativity in Ethiopian art between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries.

With regard to the presence of the archangels Michael and Gabriel in the PC Nativity, and the manner in which they are represented, it seems possible that the illuminator was influenced by coeval representations of the enthroned Virgin and Child. In this respect, considering that the unusual chain-motif which frames the Virgin and Child has the shape of an icon,[107] could it be that the artist of PC had such an object in mind when

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in the church once included also a representation of the Nativity; on this church, see Lepage 1999: esp. 940-943, with further bibliography. There exists ample evidence that paintings were inspired by apocryphal texts but a detailed treatment of this subject is beyond the scope of this paper.

102 ሥዕለ፡ አድግ፡ ወላ|ህም፡ ዘከመ፡ አስ|ተማወቅዎ።

103 All these figures can already be seen in IM (f. 18r).

104 Grébaut – Nollet 1945: 90.

105 For example, in IM (f. 18v); and in KT (f. 18v), see Witakowski 1999: fig. 1 for a reproduction.

106 Paris, BnF d'Abb. 105 [CR 19], ff. 5v-6; for reproductions of these two folios and a discussion of this manuscript, see Balicka-Witakowska 1983: figs. 3-4.

107 For instance, the frame of a late 15th or early 16th cent. *Glykophilousa* Italo-Cretan

he painted this Nativity scene? We find a similar solution adopted in an early sixteenth-century icon in the Yoḥannəs IV Museum in Mäqälä, in which the Virgin and Child are also surrounded by several angels.[108] Alternatively, could this unusual frame symbolise the sanctuary arch? Its shape is similar, to mention just one example, to that of the arch painted above the Virgin with Michael and Gabriel in KT (f. 17r).[109] In this latter scene the Virgin and the angels respectively symbolise the Ark of the Covenant and the cherubs that cover it with their wings.[110]

The twenty angels who surround the Virgin and Child with Michael and Gabriel are the most unorthodox element in the PC Nativity. The angels with two wings probably represent the archangels and those with four wings cherubs.[111] It is difficult to determine the source of this iconographic detail, which is not attested in representations of the Nativity in early Solomonic art. In fact, there are generally no angels in representations of this motif. Exceptions to this latter observation are found in: the Gospels of Maryam Mägdälawit (= MG), in which one angel is depicted in the lower register in front of the shepherds;[112] in the aforementioned BS; and in the Kəbran Gospels (= KG),[113] in which the Nativity scene features three angels in the left corner together with a fourth angel in the right corner.[114] Turning our attention to other themes, one could mention the *Maiestas Domini* in KT, in which Christ is placed within an unusual hexagonal nimbus surrounded by the Four Beasts and two angels, below which are three cherubs in an *orans* position;[115] the abovementioned icon in the Yoḥannəs IV

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icon now in the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, coll. no. 4231, has exactly the same shape; see Chojnacki 2000: cat. no. 173; Heldman 1994: 147, fig 79, for a discussion and reproduction.

[108] Coll. no. 13; for a reproduction, see Mercier 2000: 108. This icon has much in common with the PC Nativity; while the figure of the Virgin in the icon is clearly half-length, the absence of modelling in PC makes it difficult to determine whether the artist had a half-length or seated figure in mind.

[109] For a reproduction, see Heldman 1979b: fig. 11.

[110] The analogy between the Virgin and the Ark of the Covenant in Ethiopian art has long been recognised by scholars, see Heldman 1979b: 116-117; 1993: 71-72. Symbolic representations of sanctuaries are frequently found in Ethiopian illumination of the early Solomonic period, see Gnisci 2015: esp. 574-577; 2015b: 258-261; 2015c: 486-487, for a more detailed discussion. With regard to the decision to employ a chain-motif in the PC Nativity, one wonders whether the artist had 1Kgs 6:21 in mind.

[111] The veneration of Angels in Ethiopia has received limited attention in the literature, for an introduction and further bibliography, see Raineri 2003.

[112] For a reproduction, see Mercier 2004: 41; for a description of the manuscript and further bibliography, see Balicka-Witakowska 1997: 130-131.

[113] On this manuscript see Leroy 1962: 183-186; Heldman 1979; Bosc-Tiessé 2008: 33-36.

[114] For a reproduction, see Heldman 1979: fig. 5; this miniature follows a Byzantine model, see Weitzmann 1971: 632-633, fig. 13 for an example.

[115] For a discussion and reproduction of this theme, see Lepage 2002.

Museum; and an icon in the Institute of Ethiopian Studies in Addis Ababa, in which there are five angels below the Virgin and Child.[116] Nevertheless, in none of these examples there are as many angels as in the PC Nativity.

In the light of the above considerations, and also taking into consideration the unorthodox character of other illuminations in PC, it seems possible that this unusual Nativity scene was conceived independently by the illuminator. If this was case, then he may have been influenced by apocryphal accounts of Jesus' birth.[117] An alternative but complementary interpretation is that this iconography was inspired by the passage in 1Kgs 6:29 which says that Solomon carved cherubs in the inner and outer rooms of the Temple of Jerusalem, thus reinforcing the imagery of Mary as the Ark of the Covenant described above.[118] Lastly, given the influence of Western models on Ethiopian art from the early fifteenth century onwards,[119] it can't be ruled out that the illuminator of PC was influenced by an imported painted panel showing the Virgin and Child accompanied by several angels.[120] The icon in the collection of the Yoḥannəs IV Museum seems to offer further indirect evidence of the existence of such works in Ethiopia.

9. *The Other Miniatures*

The Circumcision of Jesus and his Baptism (Fig. 10)

Arranged in chronological order after the Nativity are the Circumcision of Jesus (f. 7v), which perhaps here functions as a variant of the Presentation to the Temple, and his Baptism in the river Jordan. A long inscription

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[116] Institute of Ethiopian Studies, mid to late 15th cent., coll. no. 4186; for a discussion, reproduction, and further bibliography, see Chojnacki 2000: cat. no. 146.

[117] For instance, in the *Tä'ammərä Iyäsus* angels surround the cave of the Nativity and stretch out their wings, for the text and translation see Grébaut 1919: 593 [43], 599 [49]; on this text, see also Witakowski 1995; 2010; and Tedros Abraha - Daniel Assefa 2010: 621-638. In the *Tä'ammərä Iyäsus*, as in the PC Nativity, the angels function as a link between heaven and earth, Grébaut 1919: 599 [49]. They may also serve as a means to emphasise the virginity of Mary, see for instance Getatchew Haile 1992: 86 (ed.), 87 (Eng. tr.); Witakowski 2010; 1995 with additional bibliography.

[118] This *topos* is often found in Ethiopic literature, see Getatchew Haile - Nosnitsin 2007 for an introduction and further bibliography; see Amsalu Tefera 2015 for some examples.

[119] For a more detailed discussion and bibliography, see Chojnacki 2000: 22-29; 1983: 376-408; and Heldman 1994: 115-138.

[120] The motif of the Virgin flanked by a host of angels is attested in Italy already during the early Middle Ages, as shown by the apse mosaic of S. Maria in Domnica in Rome, see Thunø 2005 with further bibliography; but it became popular in panel painting starting from the 13th cent., as shown by a tradition that begins with the works of Cimabue and Duccio, see Christiansen 2008: figs. 1, 26-28, 33, 34, 38; and Meiss 1936 for some examples. The studies on Marian iconography are too numerous to list, for a good general introduction with additional bibliography, see Lasareff 1938; Vassilaki 2005; and 2000.

at the top of the page describes the scene as an "Image of Our Lord Jesus Christ — praise to Him — and how on the eighth day, they brought Him into the place of circumcision. Image of His Baptism at the hand of John in the water of the Jordan. Afterwards, the people were baptized."[121] With regard to the ending of this passage, it is worth underscoring that the author here reverses the order of the Gospel's account (cf. Luke 3:21), in which the baptism of the people occurs before that of Jesus.[122] The upper third of the page is occupied by depictions of Joachim and Anna, the grandparents of Christ,[123] in the left frame, and his Circumcision (cf. Luke 2:21), in the right frame. This latter theme is uncommon in illuminated Ethiopic Gospels, which, starting from the second half of the fourteenth century, generally include the Presentation to the Temple,[124] as shown by KG (f. 11r)[125] and a manuscript (= MM) in the Metropolitan Museum (f. 2r).[126] In these latter two examples, Mary and Joseph bring the child to Simeon who stands next to another priest rather than to the prophetess Anna.[127] Two male figures also appear in subsequent depictions of the Circumcision, as shown by two late fifteenth or early sixteenth century icons currently kept in the Institute of Ethiopian Studies.[128] According to Chojnacki, these two figures represent "Joseph or a high-ranking priest" and "the circumciser."[129] The two figures in the Circumcision in PC also appear to be male, but, due to the absence of inscriptions, it is difficult to determine who they represent. According to the Ethiopic Synaxarium (6 *Ṭərr*), eight days after the birth of Jesus, Joseph fetches a skilful circumciser, but his tools melt before he

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[121] ሥዕለ፡ እግዚእነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ሎቱ፡ ስብሐት፡ ወ[አ]መ፡ ሰሙን፡ በከመ፡ ወሰድዎ፡ | ወአብእዎ፡ ውስተ፡ ቤተ፡ ግዝረት። ሥዕለ፡ ጥምቀ[ቱ]፡ በእደ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ በማየ፡ ዮርደኖድ። | እምድኅረ፡ ተጠምቁ፡ [ሕ]ዝብ።

[122] This is the case for the caption of this miniature, but not for the relevant passage of Luke in this manuscript.

[123] ሥዕለ፡ ኢያቄም "Image of Joachim"; ሥዕለ፡ ሐና፡ ቡርክት። "Image of the blessed Anna." The beginnings of the tradition regarding the parents of the Virgin Mary are in the apocryphal *Protoevangelium of James* (mid of the 2nd cent.; CANT 50), and the other related texts, such as the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* (CANT 51), and the *Nativity of Mary* (CANT 52), cf. van Deun 2001; for their Ethiopic redactions, see Budge 1922; Cerulli 1968: 45-46; Tedros Abraha - Daniel Assefa 2010: esp. 618-621.

[124] For some additional observations about this theme in illuminated Ethiopic Gospels, see Heldman 1972: 148-151; Lepage - Mercier 2012: 151-153.

[125] See Heldman 1979: fig. 6 for a reproduction.

[126] New York, The Metropolitan Museum, first half of the 15th cent. (?), acc. no. 1998.66. For a reproduction, see Lepage - Mercier 2012: fig. 40.

[127] Luke 2:36-38. Anna frequently appears in Western and Byzantine art, see Shorr 1946, for a more detailed discussion and some examples. The history of this theme in Ethiopian art is too complex to be discussed in detail here.

[128] Institute of Ethiopian Studies, coll. nos. 4795 and 5095; see Chojnacki 2000: cat. nos. 188 and 193 for a discussion and reproduction.

[129] Chojnacki 2000: 420.

is able to perform the ceremony and Jesus is miraculously circumcised.[130] The fact that the two figures in PC hold Christ without performing any action may reflect such a tradition. The Synaxarium interprets Jesus' Circumcision as a fulfilment of the "Laws of Moses," and juxtaposes it with the "Christian baptism." We find the motif of Jesus' Baptism next to the Circumcision also in the just-mentioned icons of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies. In most respects, the Baptism[131] in PC, which roughly occupies the lower two-thirds of the page, follows the iconographic type common to Ethiopian manuscript painting of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: Christ and John the Baptist stand in the centre of a pool of water filled with fish, as the Holy Spirit descends from heaven.[132] However, the iconography of PC stands out for three reasons. First, Christ and John the Baptist are shoulder-deep in the water, whereas usually they are waist-high.[133] Second, Christ grabs John's arm by the wrist, an action — unattested in other Ethiopic Gospels — which seems to downplay the latter's agency in his Baptism and possibly alludes to the dialogue in Matt 3:14-15. Lastly, the two angels, who are present in most Ethiopian pre-sixteenth-century examples of this theme, are not depicted and have been replaced by a crowd of twenty-two bystanders, who witness the Epiphany and can be identified as "the people" mentioned in the caption at the top of the page.

The Wedding at Cana (Fig. 11)

The depiction of the Wedding at Cana[134] on folio 8r is divided into three registers like many of the illuminations which precede it. The caption at the top of the page states: "Image of Cana of Galilee; how Our Lord blessed the water jars and converted it into wine."[135] In the upper register Christ blesses the six stone jars of water mentioned in the Gospel of John (cf. John 2:6).

[130] Budge 1928 II: 455-457. It is worth pointing out that the miraculous circumcision of Christ is mentioned also in a colophon in WM (f. 207v), which briefly describes the content of the Gospels listing the salient events of Jesus' live from the Nativity to the Ascension. This shows that the canonical texts, in this case the passage of Luke concerning Christ's circumcision, could be read by Ethiopians in the light of apocryphal texts. Also in the Rabbinic tradition, the question of whether important figures in Biblical history, such us Adam, Seth, Noah, Moses, or Samuel, were born circumcised was widely discussed, see Kalimi 2002.

[131] For further remarks about this theme in Ethiopian painting, see Chojnacki 1976.

[132] The inscription above it reads ዝውእቱ፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ በከመ፡ ጸለሎ፡ በአምሳለ፡ ርግብ፡ ጸዐዳ "This is the Holy Spirit; how it descended like a white dove."

[133] For example, in KT (f. 20r); in MG (f. not specified); and in a manuscript from a private collection (= PC-2, f. 2r) published in Mercier 2000: 55.

[134] For further remarks on this theme in early Solomonic Ethiopian art, see Heldman 1972: 162-164.

[135] ሥዕለ፡ ቃና፡ ዘገሊላ፡ ዘከመ፡ በረከ፡ እ<ግ>ግዚእነ፡ ማየ፡ መሳብክት፡ ወረሰዮ፡ ወይነ።

Here, as in some of the miniatures that follow, he has a cruciform halo. Mary stands behind Jesus, asking him to aid the groom by replenishing the wine. The inscription reads "How His Mother said 'there is no wine.'"[136] Opposite Jesus is one of the servants, who is shown in the act of drawing out some of the water that has been turned into wine (cf. John 2:8). Ten figures, divided into two lines, occupy the lower registers. Although they seem to be seated, the chairs, which are generally painted in depictions of this theme in early Solomonic illumination, are not visible. The artist's difficulty in representing seated figures is also apparent in his representations of the Washing of the Feet (f. 18r) and of the Four Evangelists (ff. 19v, 77v, 113v, and 170v). Six of the men have their hands stretched forward as if they were waiting to be given a cup of wine. The remaining four men are shown embracing a companion and sharing a cup of wine. According to Chojnacki the Ethiopian version of the Wedding at Cana was "influenced by an Arab courtly banquet,"[137] but the only possible evidence of Arabic influence on the scene of folio 8r is in the disposition of the figures. Of the motifs employed in Ethiopic illuminated Gospels of the early Solomonic period the theme of the Marriage at Cana is among those that show the greatest variations in form and iconography. A fresco of the Marriage at Cana on the northern wall of the thirteenth-century church of Gännätä Maryam shows that this theme was in use by the end of the thirteenth century,[138] but in manuscript illumination the earliest examples of the subject are found in Ethiopic Gospels of the second half of the fourteenth century. In these earlier examples the Virgin is not shown among the guests at the feast,[139] as she is on folio 8r. However, she does appear in BS (f. 8r)[140] and in a Gospel manuscript kept in Gundä Gunde.

Christ Crucified between the Two Thieves (Fig. 12)

Folio 17v features one of the two Crucifixion scenes found in the manuscript. It is a three-figure composition with Christ and the Two Thieves. The Sun and Moon appear in the upper left and right corners of the scene. Christ, clothed in an orange loincloth and with an unusual nimbus,[141] is painted with his eyes open. Although the earliest-known depictions of the

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136 በከመ ፡ ትቤሎ ፡ እሙ | ወይንኬ ፡ | አልቦ ።

137 Chojnacki 1990: 23; see also Lepage 1977: 337.

138 For a more detailed description of the plan and structure of this church, see Phillipson 2012: 112-118; for an analysis of its paintings, see Lepage 1975; and Balicka-Witakowska 1998-99.

139 For example, in MM (f. 8r), Lepage – Mercier 2012: fig. 37 for a reproduction.

140 See Balicka-Witakowska 1983: fig. 7 for a reproduction.

141 On nimbi in Ethiopian painting, see Chojnacki 1990.

Dead Christ on the Cross start appearing in Ethiopian art towards the first half of the fifteenth century, it is not uncommon to find depictions of the living Christ on the Cross in later manuscripts.[142] Christ is fastened to the cross by three nails, in line with the conventional Ethiopian iconography of this subject during the fifteenth-century.[143] Interestingly, the scroll above the cross has been left empty, which suggests that the artist may have been looking at a model he did not fully understand. The two thieves are almost half the size of Jesus and, to avoid any possible confusion with him, are tied rather than nailed to the cross.[144] Their iconography is reminiscent of that seen in fourteenth-century Ethiopian depictions of the Crucifixion without the Crucified.[145] However, in PC the Good Thief gazes towards Jesus while the Impenitent Thief looks in the opposite direction, an interpretation that is not seen in Ethiopian art prior to the fifteenth century.[146] The iconography of this scene suggests that the artist may have had more than one model in mind.

The Washing of the Disciples' Feet (Fig. 13)

Although representations of the Washing of the Feet are often found in Ethiopic Gospel manuscripts of the early Solomonic period, it is unusual for this scene to be placed after the Crucifixion as it is here (f. 18r). The inscription at the top of the page reads "Image of Our Lord Jesus Christ, praise to Him; how He washed the feet of His disciples and dried them with His towel."[147] A second inscription above Peter describes his initial objection to having his feet washed by Jesus (cf. John 13:6-8): "How Peter spoke to him and said 'leave me'."[148]

In the upper part of the scene, Jesus, who has a towel tied around his

[142] For a more detailed discussion and bibliography, see Gnisci 2014.

[143] In Ethiopian art, prior to the 15th-cent., Christ is generally fastened to the cross by four nails, as shown by a series of late 12th- and 13th-cent. crosses engraved with the figure of the crucified Christ; in manuscript illumination one of the earliest examples of this subject is found in the KG, which also shows Christ crucified with four nails; these four nails continue to appear occasionally in 15th-cent. depictions of the Crucifixion, for further discussion and reproductions, see Gnisci 2014: Figs. 2, 9-10, 15. On the symbolism of the three nails in Christian art, see Hewitt 1932.

[144] For an analysis of the iconography of the two thieves in Ethiopian painting and further bibliography, see Balicka-Witakowska 1998.

[145] For some examples and a discussion, see Balicka-Witakowska 1997: 72-77, pl. III-V, IX-XI.

[146] The iconography of the Two Thieves in this folio is similar to that of a 15th-cent. icon from a private collection published in Mercier 2000: 82.

[147] ሥዕለ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ ስብሐት ፡ ዘከመ ፡ ሐጸበ [for ኀፀበ] ፡ እግረ [፡] አርዳኢሁ ፡ ወመዝ|መዘሙ ፡ በለንጹ ።

[148] ዘከመ ፡ ይስዕሎ [for ይስእሎ] ፡ ጴጥሮስ ፡ ወይቤ ፡ | ኅድገኒ ፡

waist, is portrayed in the act of washing Peter's right foot. Jesus appears to be kneeling on the floor while Peter is seated. This detail is in contrast with most depictions of the Washing of the Feet in Ethiopian manuscripts of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, which show Peter leaning towards a seated Christ to offer an allusion to the Ethiopic liturgy of Maundy Thursday.[149] An early exception to this iconographic tradition is found in KG, in which a standing Jesus leans towards Peter whom is seated on a high chair.[150] Further exceptions are found in manuscripts belonging to the fifteenth century,[151] because starting from this century Ethiopian artists placed a greater emphasis on Christ's humility and humanity than they had done previously. Yet, not even in these later examples is Jesus portrayed on the floor as he is in PC. Whether this iconographic variation is attributable to developments of the liturgy or to the artist's inventiveness is for another study. Nevertheless, it is worth pointing out the use of the term ለንጽ *länṣ*, a type of belt used by monks,[152] to refer to the towel wrapped around Jesus' waist.

The chins of Jesus and Peter are disproportionately long and their beards are painted awkwardly. A black ewer is placed between them and an Apostle sits behind them, readying himself for the foot washing. Below these three figures the other ten Apostles, all painted in a similar pose, are inserted in a grid structure divided into two registers. The practice of inserting one or more figures into the squares of a grid becomes increasingly common in Ethiopian manuscript illumination of the second half of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, particularly in examples of Stephanite art.[153] However, the insertion of curved triangles in the upper corners, which gives the impression that the ten Apostles are placed in arched niches, is less usual and brings to mind examples of monumental art, such as the painted recesses in the fifteenth-century church of Abunä Abrəham.[154] This illumination combines elements from the tradition of Ethiopian art with unusual details that highlight the creativity of its painter.

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149 For a more detailed study of this theme in Ethiopian painting, see Heldman 1972: 175-178; on the liturgical symbolism of this theme in illuminated Ethiopic Gospels, see Gnisci 2015.

150 For a reproduction, see Gnisci 2015: fig. 5.

151 For instance, in the *Gəbrä Ḥəmamat* from the church of Abunä Mär'awi Krəstos, f. 99v; on this manuscript, see Heldman 1993b: cat. no. 89. In BS (f. 10r), both Jesus and Peter are seated; for a reproduction, see Balicka-Witakowska 1983: fig. 10.

152 Leslau 1987: 316.

153 For example, see Mercier 2000: 86.

154 For a more detailed discussion about this church, see Tribe 2009; Lepage 1977: 355, n. 68.

The Arrest of Christ (Fig. 14)

The painting on folio 18v is divided into two registers. In the lower register three guards advance from left to right. In keeping with the account given in the gospels, they are shown holding swords, clubs, and a torch.[155] In the upper register Christ is being taken away by two captors. Each captor brandishes a sword and holds the ends of ropes which are tied around Jesus' neck and wrists. Judas is not represented, in conformity with most depictions of the Arrest in Ethiopian illumination of the early Solomonic period.[156] The caption at the top of the page reads "Image of Our Lord Jesus Christ, praise to Him; how the Jewish soldiers took Him with knives and sticks. And also how they put a rope around His neck and His hands, with strength, as the high priest had told them."[157] It is interesting that the words *ḥablä* and *kəsad*, which combined mean stole, are juxtaposed in the caption as the cord placed around Christ's neck is often depicted as a stole in Ethiopian depictions of his Arrest.[158]

The treatment of the Arrest in PC differs in some respects from earlier depictions of the subject in Ethiopian painting. For instance, while half-page miniatures are attested already in IM,[159] the Arrest generally occupies a full-page of its own in early Solomonic illuminations. In the fifteenth-century Gospels of Gäbrä Krəstos (= GK)[160] the Arrest is placed in the upper half of the page, but there is a Crucifixion in the lower half rather than the three guards that can be seen in PC. The ropes tied around Christ's wrists are another uncommon iconographic feature in PC. Furthermore, in most examples of the Arrest in early Solomonic art, Christ is shown in full frontal view and the captors who hold the ends of the stole/rope placed around his neck both turn their faces towards him, standing at his side.[161] This form, in which the guards have no agency, emphasises Christ's priestly office and authority. In contrast, in PC the guard to the right turns and walks away from Jesus. This detail, combined with the position of Christ's arms, gives the impression that he is being dragged away by the guards. In other words, in this version of the Arrest, Jesus is subjected to the actions of his captors.

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[155] See Matt 26:47; Mark 14:43; Luke 22:52; John 18:3.

[156] Gnisci 2015c: n. 45.

[157] ሥዕለ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ። ሎቱ ፡ ስብሐት ፡ ዘከመ ፡ አሐዝዎ [for አኀዝዎ] ፡ ሐራ ፡ አይሁድ ፡ በመጠብሕ ፡ ወበአብትር ። ወዘከመሂ ፡ ወደዩ ፡ ሐብለ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ክሳዱ ፡ ወእዴ ። በአጽንአ [for አጽንዐ] ፡ በከመ ፡ ይቤሎሙ ፡ ሊቀ ፡ ካህናት ፡ Thanks go to Dr Antonella Brita for offering her opinion on the translation of this passage.

[158] Gnisci 2015c: 480.

[159] E.g. Annunciation and the Trial of Bitter Water (f. 17v).

[160] This manuscript has been dated to 1476 on the basis of a colophon, see Chojnacki 2009: 28-29.

[161] E.g. in IM (f. 22r); KT (f. 22r); MG (f. ?); and BS (f. 10v).

The Arrest in PC documents a subtle but significant shift in the approach to imaging Christ's Passion. It exemplifies a willingness to portray Christ's humiliation and suffering that is absent in the earliest surviving images of the Passion in Ethiopian art and starts to appear only in the fifteenth century.[162] In PC, this shift of emphasis can also be seen in the miniatures of the Washing of the Feet (f. 18r) and the Dead Christ on the Cross (f. 167v). It remains to be ascertained whether the artist conceived the idea of binding Jesus with multiple ropes independently or was influenced by one or more models. Additionally, it is interesting to observe that the curls of the hair of the guard in the upper right corner have not been painted. This latter observation adds weight to the aforementioned suggestion that a different artist was responsible for colouring the images, as this is one of several instances in which the black ink outlines seems not to have been followed or understood.

The Evangelists (Fig. 1)

The verso of the page following the Arrest features a representation of the Evangelist Matthew (f. 19v), placed before the beginning of his Gospel. There is a short caption in red ink which reads "Image of St. Matthew."[163] The Evangelist has a red-rimmed halo and is seated. The square-shaped object in the lower left corner of the page, decorated with an interlaced cross and phytomorphic motifs, is supposed to represent the chair on which Matthew is seated, even though the lack of depth in the composition and the abstract folds of the drapery give the impression that he is actually sitting behind it. This painting of Matthew is very similar to his portrait in WM,[164] as can be seen by comparing the folds of their clothes or the almost identical gestures of their hands. On the other hand, in PC the lines are more unsteady and the decoration of the clothing is less elaborate than in WM. There are differences also in the physical attributes of the two figures: the nose of the apostle in WM is sharp-pointed with a straight baseline whereas in PC the tip is rounded with a curvilinear ala; the jawline in WM is squared while in PC the mandible has no angle; the eyebrows are low-arched in WM and high-arched in PC; *etc.* So, it is not likely, as Mercier has hypothesised,[165] that PC and WM were painted by the same illuminator.

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[162] For a more detailed discussion, see Gnisci 2014.

[163] ሥዕለ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ማቴዎስ

[164] See f. 4v. Stylistically, the portraits of the Apostles in PC are related to a number of surviving examples of the Gundä Gunde style, for some examples see Balicka-Witakowska – Bausi – Bosc-Tiessé – Nosnitsin 2015: fig. 1.6.9; and an Ethiopic Gospel manuscript in Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, ca 1504/05, ms. 102.

[165] Mercier 2004: 122.

Portraits of Evangelists — shown standing and holding a codex or seated and writing — are often found in Ethiopic Gospels of the early Solomonic period.[166] In this respect, PC is no exception, with its portraits of Mark (f. 77v),[167] Luke (f. 113v),[168] and John (f. 170v)[169] painted facing the first gathering of their respective Gospels. Like Matthew, they are also represented seated with a folio in one hand and a stylus in the other. The page held by Matthew and Mark contains an excerpt from the incipit of their Gospel, whereas the page held by Luke and John is empty. The absence of a writing desk could possibly be related to Ethiopian custom of not using a table and keeping the parchment quire on the knee.[170] A number of scribal tools float in the pictorial space around the Evangelists, including ink pots, horns, scrapers, knives, and quills.[171]

The Transfiguration (Fig. 15)

The Transfiguration[172] is placed at the end of the Gospel of Matthew on folio 74r. There are no inscriptions, but from an iconographic perspective this image is almost identical to the one that appears in WM (f. 59v), which is identified as the Transfiguration by an inscription. In both manuscripts, the image is divided into two registers. Christ, in the upper register, makes a blessing gesture and holds a codex. He is surrounded by a mandorla that has five concentric layers and is truncated at the bottom by the frame of the image, a detail which gives the impression that Christ is placed under an arch.[173] Moses and Elijah flank Christ and appear to be holding his mandorla with one hand. Although the Apostles in the lower register of PC are not identified by captions, Peter can be recognised by the key he holds in his left hand.[174] Peter and James, to his right, have an unusual three-pointed beard. It is likely that the beardless Apostle to the right is John.

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[166] On this topic, see Heldman 2005; Mercier 2000b: 36-43, with further bibliography.

[167] ሥዕለ ፡ ማርቆስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ወንጌላዊ ።

[168] ሥዕለ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ሉቃስ ፡ ወንጌላዊ

[169] ሥዕለ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ዮሐንስ ፡ ወንጌላዊ ።

[170] Balicka-Witakowska – Bausi – Bosc-Tiessé – Nosnitsin 2015: 158.

[171] For a study of writing instruments in Ethiopia, see Balicka-Witakowska – Bausi – Bosc-Tiessé – Nosnitsin 2015: 154-159; Mellors – Parsons 2002, with further bibliography.

[172] For further remarks on this theme in Ethiopic Gospels, see Heldman 1972: 164-167; Chojnacki 1990: 23; Lepage – Mercier 2012: 155. Unusual versions of the Transfiguration are found in the churches of Gännätä Maryam and Betä Maryam. On the former, see Lepage 1977: 337, fig. 6; on the latter, see Lepage 1999: 908-932; and Semoglou 2009.

[173] On the symbolism of the arch in Ethiopian painting, see Gnisci 2015: 576-577.

[174] In WM the three Apostles are identified from left to right as James, Peter, and John. For another example of the key as an attribute of Peter in Ethiopian art, see Chojnacki 2000: cat. no. 157.

Exempting the detail of the arched mandorla, the Transfiguration in PC does not adhere to the usual iconographic type that is most often seen in fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century Ethiopic Gospels, in which Moses and Elijah are seated next to Christ and the three Apostles float in the pictorial space above;[175] nor to the less often seen form which shows all the figures standing next to each other in a single straight line.[176] Instead, the placing of the Apostles below the transfigured Christ puts PC in closer relation to KG, which follows Byzantine iconography.[177] However, the poses of the Apostles in PC do not convey their fear as they do in KG.

St. Tewogʷilos and St. Zäkaryas (Fig. 16)

Two portraits of saints are placed just before the beginning of the Gospel of Mark. The one to the left (f. 75v) is identified as St. Tewogʷilos (Theophilos?).[178] The saint to the right (f. 76r) is an almost mirror image of St. Tewogʷilos; he is identified as St. Zäkaryas.[179] The two saints hold a hand-cross in one hand and a praying stick in the other. There are a number of saints who have their names and it is difficult to pinpoint which one of these they represent. While it is not unusual to find depictions of saints and prophets in Gospels illuminated in the Gundä Gunde style,[180] they usually do not occupy a full page as they do in PC.

The Crucified Christ with the Virgin Mary and St. John (Fig. 17)

Another distinctive feature of PC is the presence of a second depiction

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[175] For instance, see the Transfiguration in the Gospels from Däbrä Maryam Qʷäḥayn (= DMQ), ca 1361, (f. not specified); in MM (f. 9r) and in the Gospels of Zir Ganela (= ZG), in New York, the Morgan Library & Museum, ca 1400/01, M. 828, (f. 11r). See Lepage 1999: fig. 8bis for a reproduction of DMQ; and Lepage – Mercier 2012: figs. 43-44 for reproductions of MM and ZG. For further bibliography and a more detailed discussion of these manuscripts, see Balicka-Witakowska 1997: 127-28; and Bausi 1994: 24-44 for DMQ; and Heldman 1972; 2014; and Balicka-Witakowska 1997: 130 for ZG.

[176] For instance in the manuscript of Däbrä Maryam Tənśaʿe (= DMT), turn of the 15th cent. (?), (f. not specified), which awaits more detailed study, but see Balicka-Witakowska 1997: 132, for some preliminary remarks.

[177] For an overview of this theme in Byzantine art with further readings, see Andreopoulos 2005.

[178] ሥዕል ፡ ቴዎጕሎስ ፡ አቡነ ፡ ቅዱስ. It is difficult to reach a firm conclusion on the matter, but it is possibile that this image depicts St. Theophilos Patriarch of Alexandria, cf. Witakowski 2010b.

[179] ሥዕል ፡ ዘካርያስ ፡ አቡነ ፡ ቅዱስ. This is perhaps a depiction of Abba Zäkaryas of Bärbäre, a successor of Abba Absadi of Däbrä Maryam, one of the disciples of St. Ewostatewos, cf. Taddasse Tamrat 1972: 215; Conti Rossini 1901: 112 (f. 48r); Zelleke 1975: 100, n. 190; Fiaccadori 2005: 464b.

[180] For some examples, see Heldman 1989: figs. 21, 23.

of the Crucifixion on folio 168v. In this miniature Christ is shown dead:[181] his arms are stretched out with the palms open and nailed to the cross, his head falls to a side, his dead body is sagging, and blood streaks from the wounds on his hands, chest, and feet. The eyelids are closed but painted white; it is unclear whether a corrupted model or a particular Christological doctrine is at the root of this detail, which is found also in a number of fifteenth-century miniatures of the Crucifixion which have been associated to the so-called Gundä Gunde style.[182] The Sun and Moon appear above the lateral arms of the cross, whereas Mary and John are painted below them.

It is difficult to explain why Mary and John appear a second time on the opposite leaf (f. 169r). Mary and John are depicted as witnesses on the folio opposite to the Crucifixion in WM (f. 196v),[183] but in this latter manuscript the cross is flanked by the spear bearer and sponge bearer. This raises the question of whether the illuminator of PC misinterpreted a model he was using. In PC John supports the swooning Virgin Mary and directs his gaze towards the Crucifixion. A similar pose appears in a small number of other objects from about the turn of the sixteenth century, as shown by an icon in the collection of the Yohannes IV Museum in Mäqälä[184] and in the Wafä Iyäsus booklet painted by Nicolò Brancaleone (f. 16r)[185] — but in these examples it is Salome and not John who supports Mary and the two figures are placed below the cross. The presence of two buildings in the background is equally unorthodox for Ethiopian art of this period, but buildings do occasionally appear in works by foreign artists, as in the just-mentioned booklet by Brancaleone. In conclusion, it is possible that the illuminator of PC was inspired by a foreign representation of the Crucifixion, which he misinterpreted, but the matter requires further study.

The Ascension of Christ (Fig. 18)

On folio 216v thirteen Apostles, placed in a grid, direct their gaze to the ascending Christ. The motif of the Ascension is divided into three registers like several of the miniatures at the beginning of the manuscript. The partitioning of space is hierarchical, as it is in the miniatures of the Wedding at Cana and the Washing of the Disciples' Feet: Christ is depicted in the

[181] On the diffusion of this motif in Ethiopia, see Gnisci 2014 with further references.

[182] For instance, in the Gospels of Gännätä Maryam (= GNM), second half of the 15th or early 16th cent. (?), (f. 20r); for a discussion and reproduction, see Heldman 1993b: cat. no. 92; and in a fragment in Munich, Museum Fünf Kontinente, early 16th cent. (?), inv. no. 86-307 644, (f. not specified); for a reproduction, see Mercier 2000: 90.

[183] On the evolution of this motif in Ethiopian art, see Gnisci 2014: 214-217.

[184] C. 1500, see Mercier 2000: 105, for a reproduction.

[185] For a reproduction, see Chojnacki 1999: fig. 19.

upper register which is as high as the other two combined. The atypically broad ends of his stole, crossed around the neck, fly upwards. The choice of two different background colours — blue-grey for the upper register and dove-grey for the lower ones — further emphasises the division between heaven and earth. This is typical of Ethiopian Ascensions which, as Chojnacki puts it, "consist of two clearly defined zones, the celestial and the terrestrial."[186] There are no inscriptions, but an almost identical miniature in WM (f. 198v) is identified by a caption as a "Image of the Ascension of Jesus Christ into heaven with the cloud, and how His disciples saw Him."[187]

There are several atypical features of this Ascension[188] that can only be described here but deserve more detailed study. More specifically, the Apostles are thirteen rather than twelve.[189] Furthermore, the Four Beasts that customarily surround Christ's mandorla[190] are not depicted in PC, although two figures (angels?) appear at its sides. Equally unusual is the shape of the "mandorla," which is usually circular or square, or, more occasionally, elliptic or almond shaped. The absence of the Virgin Mary is another uncharacteristic feature of the Ascension in PC. As cogently argued by Heldman, the presence of numerous miniatures depicting Mary in manuscripts connected to Gundä Gunde does not substantiate Zär'a Ya'əqob's allegation that they were enemies of Mary.[191] Nevertheless, as Mary is consistently shown in Ethiopian depictions of the Ascension from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, her absence in PC (and in a small number of other depictions of the Ascension in manuscripts associated to Gundä Gunde) is striking.[192]

St. Sebastian (?) (Fig. 18)

In the miniature on folio 217r twelve archers shoot numerous arrows in the body of a bearded man. He is clad in a loincloth and tied to a tree in a manner that recalls the way in which the two thieves are bound to their crosses in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Ethiopian examples of

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186 Chojnacki 1981: 169.

187 ሥዕለ፡ ዕርገቱ፡ ለኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ሰማያተ፡ በደመና፡ ወዘከመ፡ ርእይዎ፡ አርዳኢሁ።

188 For further remarks and bibliography on this theme in Ethiopian illumination, see Balicka-Witakowska 1983: 14-15; 2007; Chojnacki 1981; Heldman 1979b: 115-116; Monneret de Villard 1943; Ricci 1959.

189 In Ethiopian depictions of the Ascension, when they are present, the Apostles are generally twelve, but occasionally one finds depictions of thirteen apostles in 15th-cent. icons; for example, see Chojnacki 2000: cat. no. 106.

190 E.g. IM (23r); or MM (f. 7r); but for another exception, see BS (f. 12v).

191 Heldman 1989: 13-14.

192 In WM (f. 198v); and in the Gospels of Däbrä Mädḫanit, late 15th/early 16th cent., (f. 161r).

the Crucifixion. This suffering figure, which is presumably a martyr, would appear at first sight to be St. Sebastian.[193] However, because of the absence of inscriptions, it is difficult to reach a firm conclusion, especially in light of the fact that there are a number of saints killed by arrows in the Ethiopic tradition, as illustrated by several passages of the Synaxarium.[194] Depictions of this type of martyrdom are uncommon in fifteenth and early sixteenth century Ethiopian art, and quite exceptional in the context of an illuminated Gospel manuscript. To give one example, there is a similarly bound figure covered in spikes in left panel of the abovementioned icon in the Yoḥannəs IV Museum in Mäqälä.[195]

8. *Conclusions*

This study has described and analysed the codicological, palaeographic, and written features of PC, and examined its decorations and miniatures. Several points of interest have been highlighted. The text of PC is close to the Cb-text family. With regard to the illuminations, it has been seen that the unique group of miniatures at the beginning of the manuscript, which depict the Three Kings and their retinue, may be of value for the study of the peripatetic habits of the Ethiopian court. The eclectic character of several of the other miniatures, such as the Nativity and the Ascension, has also been highlighted. In offering a detailed description of PC one of our aims was to encourage further research on all of its features. Furthermore, in our opinion, it is important to adopt a comprehensive approach to the study of Ethiopian illumination, as an analysis of the textual and physical attributes of the manuscript may help to establish its history and provenance, and thus ultimately improve our understanding of its production and subsequent use.

Manuscript Abbreviations

BS = Paris, BnF d'Abb. 105 [CR 19], *Psalter*, 1476/77 AD, Conti Rossini 1920: 18-21.
DMQ = Däbrä Maryam Qʷäḥayn, *Four Gospels*, 1360/61 AD, Bausi 1994: 24-44.

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193 On the martyrdom of St. Sebastian in the Ethiopic Synaxarium (*Ṭərr* 25), see Bugde 1928 II: 542: "When Diocletian denied the God of heaven he tried to force Saint Sebastianus to worship idols. When he refused to do so he commanded the soldiers to tie him to a withered tree, and to shoot at him with countless arrows."

194 See, for example the martyrdoms of St. Sarabios (Serapion? *Ṭərr* 27), Budge 1928 II: 547; St. Eusebios (*Yäkkatit* 13), Budge 1928 II: 625; St. Philemon (*Yäkkatit* 13), Budge 1928 II: 627; St. Judah the Apostle (*Säne* 25), Budge 1928 IV: 1033; St. Adonin (*Ḥamle* 25), Budge 1928 IV: 1154; *etc.*

195 Coll. no. 13; Mercier 2000: 108, mistakenly describes this image as the martyrdom of St. Sebastian, but the caption indicates that it is the nailing of St. Theodore.

DMT = Däbrä Maryam Tənśa'e, *Four Gospels*, turn of the 15th cent. (?), Balicka-Witakowska 1997: 132.
GK = Təgray, Dägna, Abunä Gäbrä Krəstos, *Four Gospels*, 1476 AD, Chojnacki 2009b.
GNM = Gännätä Maryam, *Four Gospels*, second half of the 15th or early 16th cent. (?), Heldman 1993b: cat. no. 92.
IM = Däbrä Hayq Ǝsṭifanos, *Four Gospels*, 1280/81 AD, EMML 1832, EMML V, 293-301.
KG = Lake Ṭana, Kəbran, Kebrān 1, *Four Gospels*, second half of the 14th cent., Hammerschmidt 1973: 84-91.
KT = Addis Ababa, National Library, ms. 28 [*olim* Krəstos Täsfanä], *Four Gospels*, first half of the 14th cent.
MG = Maryam Mägdälawit, *Four Gospels*, second half of the 14th – first half of the 15th cent., Balicka-Witakowska 1997: 130-131.
MM = New York, The Metropolitan Museum, acc. no. 1998.66, *Four Gospels*, first half of the 15th cent. (?), Lepage – Mercier 2012.
PC = London, Private collection, *Four Gospels*, 15th-16th cent.
PC-2 = London, Private collection, *Miracles of Mary*, 18th cent. (first set of miniatures from 14th cent.), see J. Gnisci, "Towards a Comparative Framework for Research on the Long Cycle in Ethiopic Gospels" (accepted for publication in *Aethiopica*).
WM = Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 850, *Four Gospels*, half of the 16th cent. (?), Mann 2001: 104-105.
ZG = New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, M. 828, *Four Gospels*, ca 1400/01 AD, Balicka-Witakowska 1997: 130.

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Summary

This article offers an analysis of the text and illuminations of an Ethiopic Gospel book dating to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. The manuscript includes an unusual procession scene depicting the Three Magi, followed by a large retinue of soldiers, beasts of burden, and servants, which extends over several folios and is of particular interest for the study of the peripatetic life of the court of the emperors of Ethiopia.



Fig. 1 – ff. 19v-20r

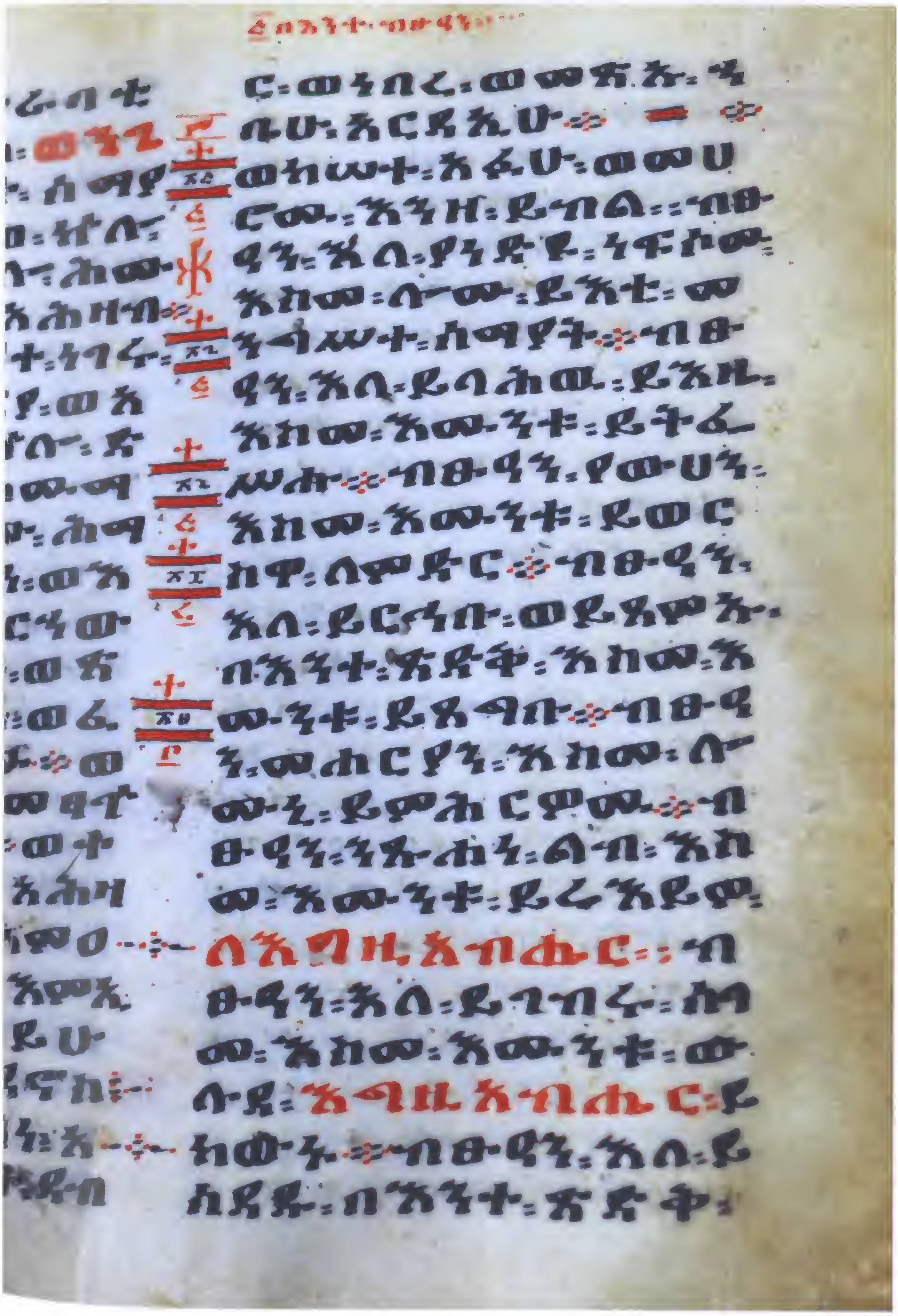


Fig. 2 – f. 25rb (Matt 5:1-10).



Fig. 3 – f. 3r.



Fig. 4 – ff. 3v-4r



Fig. 5 – ff. 4v-5r.



Fig. 6 – f. 5v.



Fig. 7 – f. 6r.



Fig. 8 – f. 6v.



Fig. 9 – f. 7r.



Fig. 10 – f. 7v.



Fig. 11 – f. 8r.



Fig. 12 – f. 17v.



Fig. 13 – f. 18r.



Fig. 14 – f. 18v.



Fig. 15 – f. 74r.



Fig. 16 – ff. 75v-76r.



Fig. 17 – ff. 168v-169r.

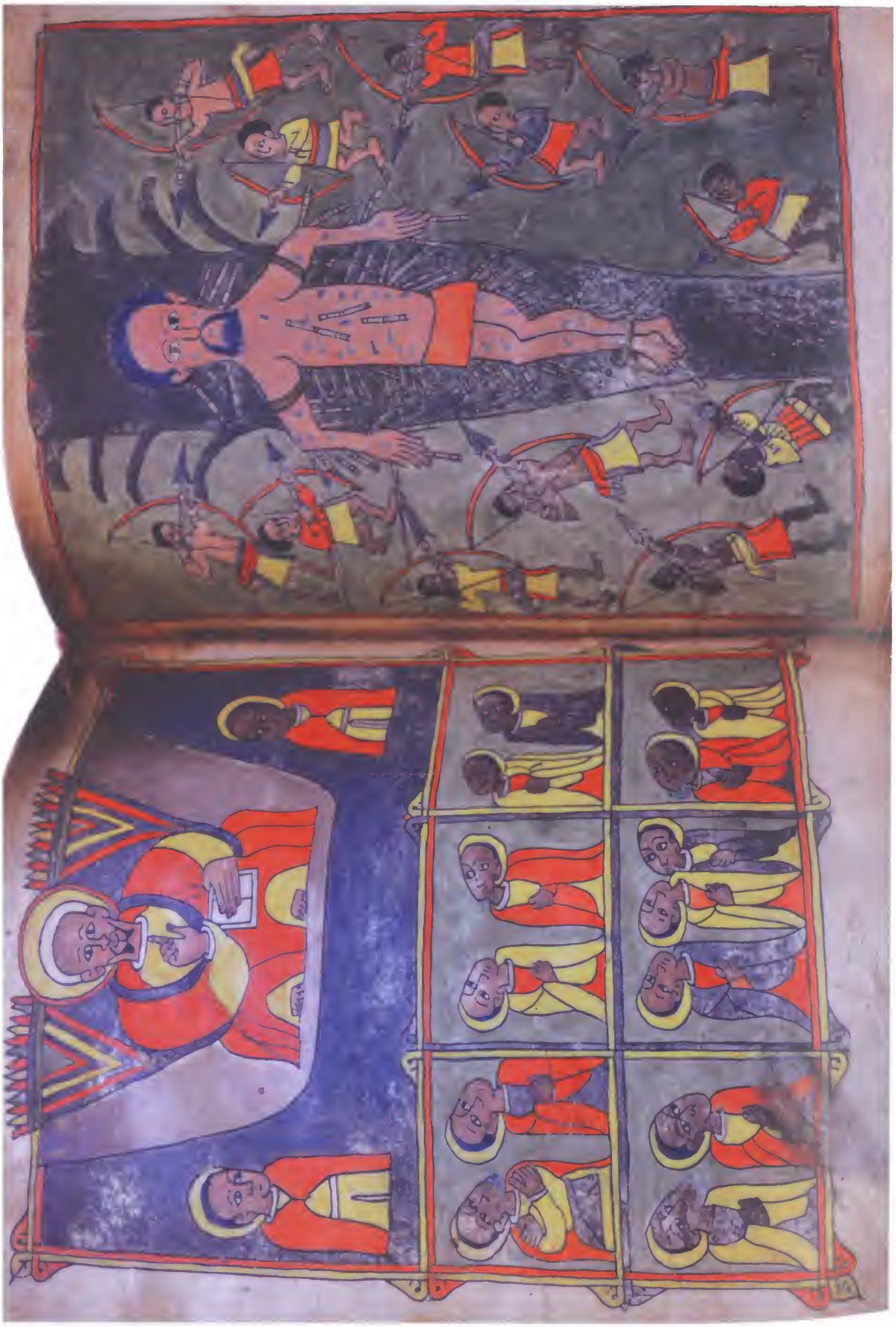


Fig. 18 – ff. 216v-217r.

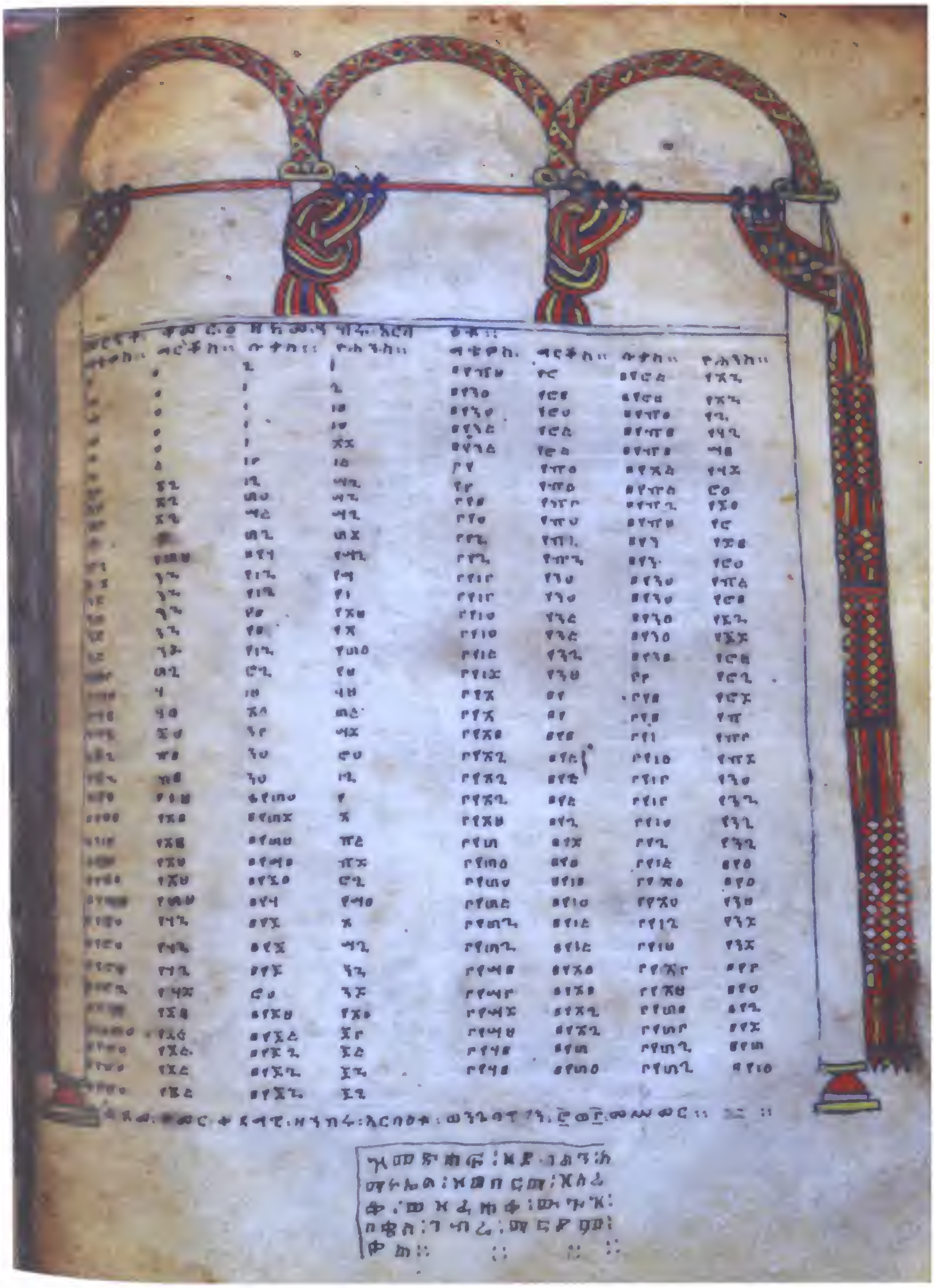


Fig. 19 – f. 218r

Marco Dino Brogi, O.F.M.

Normativa de S. Hierarchia
(aggiornamenti dalla chiusura del Vaticano II all'istituzione della Pontificia Commissione per la revisione del CICO)

Introduzione

Con il presente studio mi propongo di ricostruire la genesi di alcuni provvedimenti riguardanti l'Episcopato presi dalla S. Sede dopo il Vaticano II anteriormente all'istituzione della Pontificia Commissione per la Revisione del *Codex Iuris Canonici Orientalis* (CICO)[1].

Il *terminus a quo* è chiaro, sapendosi bene che il Concilio è stato concluso solennemente l'8 dicembre 1965, mentre non vi è alcun documento relativo alla creazione della suddetta Commissione o, se ci fosse, non risulta che sia mai stato pubblicato.

È stata invece divulgata la lettera in data 10 giugno 1972 con la quale il Card. Jean Villot, allora Segretario di Stato, comunicava ufficialmente al Card. Joseph Parecattil, Arcivescovo Metropolita di Ernakulam dei Siro Malabaresi, l'istituzione di quella Commissione e la sua nomina a Presidente della medesima[2].

La Commissione aveva il compito di rivedere il CICO, la cui redazione era terminata nel 1948[3], in tutte le sue parti, sia quelle già promulgate sia le altre.

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[1] Un riassunto si trova pubblicato in G. Ruyssen (ed.), *Il diritto canonico orientale a cinquant'anni dal Concilio Vaticano II. Atti del simposio di Roma, 23-25 aprile 2014, Pontificio Istituto Orientale, Pontificia Università San Tommaso d'Aquino "Angelicum"* (= Kanonika 22), Roma 2016, 123-127.

[2] Essa è stata pubblicata in *Nuntia, fascicolo previo* (1973) 2, e poi nuovamente in *Nuntia* 1 (1975) 10; per quanto concerne i precedenti, cf. M. D. Brogi, "La Congregazione per le Chiese orientali e le due Commissioni Codificatrici, rispettivamente del *Codex Iuris Canonici Orientalis* e del *Codex Canonum Ecclesiarum Orientaliium*", *Iura Orientalia* VI (2010) [www.iuraorientalia.net] 58-66.

[3] Cf. [A. Coussa], "Codificazione Canonica Orientale", Sacra Congregazione per la Chiesa Orientale (a cura di), *Oriente Cattolico – Cenni storici e statistiche*, Città del Vaticano (1962) 35-57; per il Coussa cf. N. Del Re, "I Cardinali, – I Cardinali Segretari – 6) Gabriele Acacio Coussa, 15 gennaio 1953-29 luglio 1962", Sacra Congregazione per le Chiese Orientali (a cura di), *La Sacra Congregazione per le Chiese Orientali nel Cinquantesimo della Fondazione, 1917-1967*, Roma (1969) 93-95. Per lo stretto rapporto tra la suddetta Congregazione e la Commissione Codificatrice, cf. M. D. Brogi, "La Congregazione" (v. nota 2), 52-56.

Per quanto riguarda la normativa de S. Hierarchia, i relativi canoni si trovavano nel 5° Titolo del CICO[4], promulgato assieme ad altre parti di quel Codice da Papa Pio XII l'11 giugno 1957 con il Motu Proprio *Cleri Sanctitati – De Ritibus Orientalibus – De Personis*[5].

In quest'ultima raccolta essi erano i cc. 216-488, che si trovavano nei capitoli VI-X della prima parte del Titolo IV, e nei capitoli I-VII della parte successiva; questi canoni costituivano dunque il diritto pontificio sulla S. Gerarchia comune a tutte le Chiese cattoliche orientali, vigente all'apertura del Vaticano II.

Oggi, dopo la loro revisione, il cui sviluppo si può facilmente seguire sui vari fascicoli di *Nuntia*, la materia è contenuta nei titoli IV-IX del *Codex Canonum Ecclesiarum Orientalium* (cc. 55-322).

Pertanto, io mi soffermerò sui tre temi salienti studiati e risolti in quest'arco di tempo (dicembre 1965 – giugno 1972): la Facoltà dei Vescovi orientali di dispensare i propri fedeli in singoli casi dall'osservanza di prescrizioni di diritto comune, l'estensione ed i limiti della capacità dei Patriarchi con il proprio Sinodo di nominare i Vescovi della propria Chiesa, ed i rapporti dei Vescovi costituiti al di fuori del territorio della propria Chiesa con i Sinodi della medesima.

1. *Applicazione di* Christus Dominus *n. 8*

Sino al Concilio i Vescovi diocesani latini, come era esplicitamente stabilito dal CIC '17 can. 81, erano strettamente vincolati dalle prescrizioni generali del diritto pontificio e le loro facoltà di dispensare erano ben definite ed alquanto limitate[6]; quanto ai Vescovi eparchiali orientali, in mancanza di una norma corrispondente a quel canone, essi ne erano vincolati a norma del CIC '17 can. 1[7].

Comunque, per non costringere i Vescovi a continui ricorsi alla Santa Sede, varie Congregazioni concedevano specifiche facoltà ai Rappresentanti Pontifici ed ai Vescovi stessi.

All'inizio del suo pontificato Papa Paolo VI volle concedere ai Vescovi una maggiore autonomia e promulgò "motu proprio" il 30 novembre 1963

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[4] Cf. [I. Žužek], "L'ordine sistematico dello *Schema Codicis Iuris Canonnici Orientalis* nella sua evoluzione", *Nuntia* 26 (1988) 83-85.

[5] Cf. AAS 49 (1957) 433-603: cf. [Coussa], "Codificazione Canonica" (v. nota 3), 53s.

[6] Asseriva il can. 81: "A generalibus Ecclesiae leges Ordinarii infra Romanum Pontificem dispensare nequeunt, ne in casu quidem peculiari, nisi ...".

[7] Asseriva il can. 1: "Licet in Codice iuris canonici Ecclesiae quoque orientalis disciplina saepe referatur, ipse tamen unam Latinam respicit Ecclesiam neque Orientalem obligat, nisi de iis agatur quae ex ipsa rei natura etiam Orientalem afficiunt".

la Lettera Apostolica *Pastorale munus*[8], con cui ampliava le facoltà dei Vescovi diocesani di dispensare da varie norme canoniche, seppur limitando la loro capacità di delegarle, e concedeva a tutti i Vescovi, sia diocesani sia titolari, alcuni privilegi.

Il testo riguardava tutti i Vescovi, specificando, per le facoltà, che esse spettavano per diritto ai Vescovi diocesani, e, per i privilegi, che essi competevano a tutti i Vescovi, sia residenziali sia titolari, in aggiunta alle facoltà e privilegi enumerati nel *Codex Iuris Canonici*; nonostante questo riferimento al solo CIC, pare pacifico "ex natura rei" che il documento pontificio riguardava tutti i Vescovi, compresi dunque quelli orientali.

Le facoltà enumerate hanno per oggetto in modo particolare i sacramenti e il diritto patrimoniale; il documento, come si è detto, amplia facoltà e privilegi dei vescovi, ma non scalfisce minimamente la struttura dell'episcopato, quale era allora impostata.

Un cambiamento radicale in campo dottrinale si ha invece con la Costituzione Dommatica *Lumen Gentium*, sulla Chiesa (LG), approvata e promulgata il 21 novembre 1964 assieme ai Decreti *Orientalium Ecclesiarum* (OE), sulle Chiese Cattoliche Orientali, sul quale ritorneremo in seguito, e *Unitatis Redintegratio*, sull'Ecumenismo.

Il terzo capitolo della Costituzione *Lumen Gentium* espone il frutto dell'approfondimento della dottrina sull'Episcopato; esso asserisce la centralità del Vescovo nella propria diocesi, in quanto egli governa i suoi fedeli "loco Dei"[9], quale "vicarius et legatus Christi"[10].

Queste asserzioni così forti ribaltavano la precedente prospettiva ed esigevano una diversa impostazione della normativa canonica relativa alla facoltà di dispensare allora in vigore, e ciò avvenne in Concilio stesso con il Decreto *Christus Dominus* (CD), sulla Missione Pastorale dei Vescovi nella Chiesa, approvato e promulgato l'anno successivo, il 28 ottobre 1965.

Il Decreto dedica il suo primo capitolo ai "Vescovi nella Chiesa universale", e apre la sua seconda parte, intitolata "I Vescovi e la Sede Apostolica", affermando (n. 8a) che "nelle diocesi loro affidate spetta per sé ai Vescovi, [...] ogni potestà [...] che è richiesta per l'esercizio del loro compito pastorale, ferma sempre restando in tutto la potestà di cui gode il Romano Pontefice ..."[11].

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[8] Pubblicata in AAS 56 (1964) 6-12, essa è intitolata: "Facultates et privilegia quaedam Episcopis conceduntur"; cf. B. Belluco, *Novissimae Ordinariorum Locorum Facultates – Commentarium in Motu Proprio "Pastorale Munus"* (Bibliotheca Pontificii Athenaei Antoniani 14) Roma 1964.

[9] LG 20.

[10] *Ibidem*, 27.

[11] "Episcopis [...] in dioecesibus ipsis commissis per se omnis competit potestas ordinaria, propria ac immediata, quae ad exercitium eorum muneris pastoralis requiritur, firma

Il capoverso prosegue (n. 8b) asserendo che "ai singoli Vescovi diocesani è data facoltà, nel singolo caso particolare, di dispensare da una legge generale della Chiesa i fedeli, [...] ogni volta che ritengano che ciò sia utile al loro bene spirituale, a meno che sia stata fatta qualche speciale riserva in proposito dalla Suprema Autorità della Chiesa"[12].

Il Vescovo eparchiale (o diocesano), preso possesso dell'eparchia (o diocesi) che è stata legittimamente affidata alla sua cura, non ha dunque più bisogno di ricevere da nessuna autorità, nemmeno dal Romano Pontefice, nessuna delle facoltà richieste per il corretto esercizio del suo ministero pastorale; potremmo aggiungere: "compresa quella di dispensare i suoi fedeli, per una legittima causa, dall'osservanza di qualche legge ecclesiastica" ma in realtà quest'ultima facoltà gli è esplicitamente concessa dal Concilio stesso, che tuttavia ne definisce i limiti.

L'entrata in vigore di questo paragrafo esigeva dunque la previa indicazione delle eventuali riserve pontificie.

Al riguardo, Papa Paolo VI non tardò ad intervenire, ed il Card. Carlo Confalonieri, Segretario[13] della S. Congregazione Concistoriale[14] comunicò alla S. Congregazione per la Chiesa Orientale, con lettera datata 20 gennaio 1966, prot. 1177/65 indirizzata al suo omologo il Card. Gustavo Testa[15], che il Papa lo aveva incaricato di redigere un elenco dei casi che avrebbero dovuto essere riservati al Sovrano Pontefice[16], e chiedeva la sua collaborazione per quanto concerneva i Vescovi delle Chiese Orientali.

Questa Congregazione si rivolse subito a tre suoi consultori, i Padri Řezáč, Pujol e Wuyts, gesuiti, professori del Pontificio Istituto Orientale.

Essi si misero subito allo studio richiesto, ma presto rilevarono varie difficoltà, innanzitutto poiché il Codice Orientale era stato promulgato solo

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semper in omnibus potestate quam [..]. Romanus Pontifex habet sibi vel alii Auctoritati causas reservandi".

[12] "Singulis Episcopis dioecesanis facultas fit a lege generali Ecclesiae in casu particulari dispensandi fideles [...] quoties id ad eorum bonum spirituale conferre iudicent, nisi a Suprema Ecclesiae Auctoritate specialis reservatio facta fuerit".

[13] Prefetto di questa Congregazione, come anche di quella "Suprema del S. Officio" e di quella "per la Chiesa Orientale" era allora lo stesso Pontefice (cf. CIC '17 cc. 246-248 et 257; Mp *Cleri Sanctitati* cc. 192-195), ma il 9 febbraio 1966 Papa Paolo VI aveva rinunziato a queste prefetture e promosso i tre Segretari a Pro-Prefetti, gli Assessori a Segretari ed i Sostituti a Sottosegretari: cf. N. Del Re, "I Cardinali e gli Assessori" (v. nota 3), 103.

[14] Per questa Congregazione che diverrà nel 1968, con la Costituzione Apostolica *Regimini Ecclesiae Universae* del 15 agosto 1967 Congregazione "per i Vescovi", cf. CIC '17, can. 248.

[15] Il Cardinale Gustavo Testa (1886-1969) diresse la Congregazione Orientale dal 1962 al 1968: cf N. Del Re, "I Cardinali e gli Assessori" (v. nota 3), 95s.

[16] Documento conservato nell'Archivio della Congregazione per le Chiese Orientali nel fasc. 26/66, "Elenco casi riservati alla S. Sede", classificata nel settore ORIENTE/Segreteria; questo fascicolo contiene la documentazione sull'argomento pervenuta al Dicastero assieme alle minute ed alle copie di quella spedita, e ad altre annotazioni.

in parte, e inoltre perché tra i casi che esulavano dalla competenza dei Vescovi potevano essercene alcuni da riservare ai Patriarchi, e il Card. Testa ne riferì a Papa Paolo VI il 26 di quello stesso mese di gennaio.

In quell'Udienza il Cardinale, fatto riferimento ad un caso analogo, chiese al Papa di poter procedere in modo autonomo, salvo confrontare poi con la Congregazione Concistoriale le conclusioni raggiunte, e la sua proposta fu accolta[17].

Il 4 aprile 1966, in una nuova udienza, Papa Paolo VI raccomandò al Card. Testa "di tenersi in contatto con la Concistoriale".

Il 15 aprile Mons. Ernesto Civardi, Sotto-Segretario della Congregazione Concistoriale, si recò con un collaboratore nella sede dell'Orientale e si incontrò con l'Arciv. Mario Brini[18], Segretario di questa Congregazione, assistito dal Sotto-Segretario Giovanelli[19] e da Mons. Mario Rizzi[20], con un progetto di documento. Essi convennero che le leggi da prendere in considerazione dovevano essere quelle precipienti e proibenti, rimanendo invece escluse quelle costitutive, quelle procedurali, e quelle giudiziarie; fu anche discusso se convenisse redigere un unico elenco, ovvero due, uno per i latini e l'altro per gli orientali.

Quando ne fu informato, il Papa stabilì che venisse redatto un unico documento, se doveva essere sottoposto alla sua firma, diversamente che i documenti fossero due.

Il 6 maggio l'Arciv. Brini si reca dal Card. Confalonieri, Pro-Prefetto della Congregazione Concistoriale, e poi gli invia una Nota datata quello stesso giorno con la quale la Congregazione riferisce al Papa del suddetto incontro con il Civardi; vi si legge: "... si è studiata la possibilità della emanazione di un documento unico in materia, valevole per latini e orientali, alla luce del Foglio di Udienza del 4 aprile scorso e del due corrente, e sempre nell'ipotesi che si tratti non di un decreto della Concistoriale, ma di un documento a firma del Santo Padre"[21].

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[17] Tutto ciò risulta dalla relazione (prot. 26/66) presentata il 26 gennaio 1966 personalmente dal Cardinale al Papa.

[18] L'Arcivescovo Mario Brini (1908-1995) fu Assessore/Segretario della Congregazione (v. nota 13) dal 1965 al 1982: cf. *Archivio* della medesima Congregazione, Pos. N.68/65; classificata in ORIENTE/Segreteria; N. Del Re, "I Cardinali e gli Assessori" (v. nota 3), "II I Prelati Assessori", 102s.

[19] Mons: Amerigo Giovanelli (1896-1987) fu sostituto/sottosegretario della Congregazione Orientale (v. nota 13) dal 1950 al 1968: cf. *Archivio* della medesima Congregazione, Pos. N. 2257/28, classificata in ORIENTE/Segreteria.

[20] Mons. Mario Rizzi (1926-2012) fu sottosegretario della Congregazione Orientale dal 1982, e poi Arcivescovo e Nunzio Apostolico dal 1991: cf, *Archivio* della medesima Congregazione, Pos. N. 401/53, classificata in ORIENTE/Segreteria.

[21] Dal Foglio d'Udienza del 6 maggio 1966, prot. 26/66, restituito dal Papa il 10 di quello stesso mese tramite l'Arciv. Antonio Samoré, Segretario per gli Affari Pubblici Ecclesiastici.

Il testo prosegue osservando che la clausola che intende salvare i diritti dei Patriarchi riferendosi ai soli cc. 265-267 del Mp *Cleri Sanctitati*, è parsa inadeguata, e per questo si preferirebbe dire, ad esempio, "salvis iuribus et privilegiis Ecclesiarum Orientalium", ma si rileva che questa formulazione è molto generica.

E termina nel seguente modo: "Così stando le cose, tutto consiglia di suggerire che per gli Orientali venga emanato un documento a parte, attesa la troppo grande diversità di disciplina, attestata d'altronde dalla presenza di due distinte codificazioni", e conclude: "In questo caso però occorrerebbe che intanto la 'vacatio legis' per gli orientali fosse debitamente prorogata, per dar tempo alla S. C. Orientale di preparare il testo relativo".

Il Card. Confalonieri scrive a sua volta a Mons. Brini, con lettera dell'11 maggio prot. 1177/65 per comunicargli di aver presentato al Papa la Nota in questione, e che il Sovrano Pontefice aveva disposto che "venisse emanato un documento separato per le Chiese Orientali, e che si provvedesse per la proroga della vacatio legis, che scade il 29 giugno corrente"[22].

Nell'Udienza del 31 maggio 1966 il Card. Testa riferisce che la Congregazione si è subito messa all'opera, e che ha costituito una commissione composta da sei Consultori, "i Padri Giovanni Rezac e Clemente Pujol, della Compagnia di Gesù, professori all'Istituto Orientale, i Padri Pietro Tocanel e Daniele Faltin, Conventuali, professori al Laterano (sic!), e due orientali: Mons. Luigi Tautu, romeno, e Mons. Choukrallah Harb, di rito maronita".

Viene segnalato al Papa che le difficoltà incontrate da questi Consultori erano dovute a vari fattori, già riferiti in queste pagine: promulgazione solo parziale del diritto comune per le Chiese Orientali, esame dei diritti particolari di queste ultime, facoltà dei singoli Patriarchi.

È inoltre chiesto al Papa di prorogare la vacatio legis sino al 1° gennaio 1967 e che il relativo documento sia emanato dalla Congregazione Orientale "con una dichiarazione a parte, non inserita, come si era pensato in un primo tempo, nel documento per i Latini".

Il Cardinale, rientrato dall'Udienza, annota che Papa Paolo VI ha accolto la richiesta, fissando però la nuova scadenza all'8 dicembre 1966.

La proroga sarà promulgata il 6 giugno 1966 con un Decreto della Congregazione Orientale: il Pontefice, richiesto dal Cardinale Pro-Prefetto della Congregazione Orientale "... benigne indulsit ut pro Ecclesiis Orientalibus vacatio legis [...] prorogetur eoque die cesset qui indicabitur in proprio decreto exsecutorio proxime promulgando"[23].

E pochi giorni dopo, il 15 giugno, Papa Paolo VI emanava le norme esecutive di CD 8b con la Lettera Apostolica Motu Proprio del 15 giugno 1966,

[22] Dal Foglio d'Udienza in data 31 maggio 1966.

[23] Pubblicato in AAS 58 (1966) 523.

che inizia con le parole *De Episcoporum muneribus*[24]; queste norme, come è esplicitamente detto nel penultimo paragrafo dell'introduzione, valgono soltanto per la Chiesa latina."

La Congregazione Orientale proseguiva il proprio studio, ed il 30 novembre 1966 il Card. Testa inviò al Card. Cicognani un progetto di decreto, che la Congregazione considerava definitivo ed auspicava che potesse essere promulgato l'8 dicembre consecutivo, ma il Segretario di Stato lo restituì con le proprie osservazioni nel mese di gennaio 1967.

Tra l'altro, era emerso a proposito di dispense, il rischio di confusione quanto all'applicazione di OE 18[25], per il caso in cui la parte cattolica non fosse orientale ma latina, ed il 22 febbraio 1967 la Congregazione emanò il Decreto *Crescens matrimoniorum*[26], che estendeva il provvedimento anche a questa fattispecie[27].

E finalmente, il 2 maggio 1967, Papa Paolo VI promulgò la Lettera Apostolica *Episcopalis Potestatis*[28].

Nella breve introduzione è riportato integralmente CD 8, è ricordata la precedente promulgazione per la Chiesa latina del Motu proprio *De Episcoporum Muneribus*, e che Papa Paolo VI aveva procrastinato per le Chiese Orientali l'entrata in vigore di quel medesimo paragrafo[29] dietro istanza del Cardinale Pro-Prefetto[30] della Sacra Congregazione per la Chiesa Orientale[31].

Seguono otto paragrafi, nei quali viene confermata la legislazione comune per gli Orientali promulgata fino a quella data, sono indicati i destinatari del provvedimento, si chiariscono le norme attinenti alle dispense e

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[24] Pubblicato in AAS 58 (1966) 467-471.

[25] "Ad praecavenda matrimonia invalida, quando catholici orientales cum acatholicis orientalibus baptizatis matrimonium ineunt [...] Sancta Synodus statuit formam canonicam celebrationis pro his matrimoniis obligare tantum ad liceitatem, ...".

[26] Pubblicato in AAS 59 (1967) 165-166.

[27] Questa norma è poi entrata in ambedue i codici – v. CIC can. 1127 § 1 et CCEO can. 834 § 2.

[28] Pubblicato in AAS 59 (1967) 385-390.

[29] Cf. AAS 58 (1966) 523.

[30] Quando aveva istituito la Congregazione per gli Orientali (1917), Papa Benedetto XV se ne era riservata la prefettura, affidando il Dicastero alla guida, a lui strettamente subordinata, di un Cardinale Segretario; nel 1966 Papa Paolo VI ne ampliò l'autonomia, e promosse il Cardinale Segretario a Pro-Prefetto, fino alla *Regimini*, che equiparò l'Orientale alle altre Congregazioni, e la affidò alla guida di un Cardinale Prefetto: cf. M. Brogi, "La Congregazione per le Chiese Orientali", in P. A. Bonnet e C. Gullo (a cura di), *La Curia Romana nella Cost. Ap. «Pastor Bonus»*, Città del Vaticano 1990, 240s.

[31] La Congregazione, che era stata inizialmente denominata "pro Ecclesia Orientali", al singolare, è divenuta, con la *Regimini* l'attuale Congregazione "pro Ecclesiis Orientalibus", al plurale: cf. Brogi, "La Congregazione" (v. nota 26) 240.

si chiarisce che cosa s'intenda per "leggi generali" e per "casi particolari", si indicano i beneficiari delle dispense nonché i motivi che rendono valida e lecita una dispensa ed infine, nell'ottavo paragrafo, si fanno salve le facoltà che competono legittimamente ai Patriarchi, agli Arcivescovi Maggiori, ai Rappresentanti Pontifici ed ai Gerarchi, e si elencano quindici casi riservati al Romano Pontefice[32]

La norma di CD 8b, debitamente completata, è divenuta il can. 1538 § 1 del CCEO[33].

2. *Applicazione di* Orientalium Ecclesiarum *nn. 7,3 e 9,3*[34]

Il Decreto *Orientalium Ecclesiarum* sancisce la struttura delle Chiese orientali cattoliche ed il loro rilievo nella Chiesa universale, e ne evidenzia l'autonomia, in comunione gerarchica con il Romano Pontefice, sotto la guida di un Patriarca o di un Arcivescovo maggiore, ciascuno dei quali è "Pater et Caput"[35] della propria Chiesa.

I principi ivi enunziati guideranno la revisione del CICO e porteranno alla redazione del CCEO[36].

L'attenzione degli Orientali e degli Orientalisti, soffermatasi in modo particolare su questo Decreto, si rivolse subito a due suoi principi: il primo riguarda la designazione dei Vescovi (n.9,3) ed il secondo riguarda il rap-

[32] Per un'analisi di queste riserve, v. I. Řezáč, "De potestate dispensandi Eiscoporum Orientalium", *Periodica de re morali, canonica, liturgica* 57 (1968) 3-79; l'estratto di questo studio è apparso subito dopo in un fascicolo, che riportava in forma sinottica ambedue i Documenti, *De Episcoporum muneribus e Episcopalis Potestatis*: cf. Idem, *De potestate dispensandi Episcoporum Orienalium ad normam Mp Episcopalis Potestatis – praemisso tesxtu integro utriusque Motu Proprio Latini nempe et Orientalis*, Roma 1968.

[33] "Episcopus eparchialis dispensare potest tam a legibus iuris communis quam a legibus iuris particularis propriae Ecclesiae sui iuris in casu speciali christifideles [...] nisi ab auctoritate quae leges tulit, reservatio facta est".

[34] Il testo che ci interessa, come vedremo nelle pagine che seguono, è indicato nella corrispondenza tra gli Organi della Santa Sede come "quarto" comma del n. 9, ma in varie edizioni dei Documenti del Vaticano II, esso è il terzo ed è contrassegnato dal n. 3. Così ad esempio in quella curata nel 1998 dalla Libreria Editrice Vaticana, che asserisce nel sottotitolo: "Testo ufficiale" e poi: "Il testo latino riproduce l'edizione ufficiale [...] la numerazione dei paragrafi segue l'edizione ufficiale – i numeri più piccoli, che segnalano i capoversi di ogni paragrafo, sono stati introdotti da noi": cf. V. De Paolis, "Laws, Customs, Administrative Acts (cc. 1488-1539)". G. Nedungatt (ed.), *A Guide to the Eastern Code – A commentary of the Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches* (= Kanonika 10), Rome 2002, 840.

[35] Cf. OE 4.

[36] Cf. M. D. Brogi, "Le novità del CCEO alla luce dei Principi Direttivi", Pontificio Consiglio per i Testi Legislativi (a cura di), *La storia, le legislazioni particolari, le prospettive ecumeniche – Atti del Convegno di studio tenutosi nel XX Anniversario della promulgazione del Codice dei Canoni delle Chiese Orientali, 8-9 ottobre 2010* (Città del Vaticano 2011) 119-136.

porto dei Vescovi della diaspora con i Sinodi della loro Chiesa, che il CCEO chiama "Ecclesia sui iuris"[37] (n.7,3).

A) Elezioni vescovili

I. Antecedenti

Fino a metà del XIX secolo le Chiese patriarcali cattoliche eleggevano autonomamente i propri Vescovi.

Con la Costituzione Apostolica *Reversurus* del 12 luglio 1867 Papa Pio IX impose agli Armeni la presentazione di una terna di candidati, riservandosi la scelta e nomina dei vescovi, e questa disciplina fu estesa con la Costituzione Apostolica *Cum ecclesiastica disciplina* del 31 agosto 1869 alla Chiesa caldea, e ad essa si adeguarono i Siri ed i Copti.

Tuttavia gli Armeni, seguiti dalle altre Chiese patriarcali, ottennero nel 1876 di poter presentare a Roma un unico candidato, pur rimanendo la nomina riservata al Papa.

Invece, Melkiti e Maroniti mantennero la loro autonomia[38].

La materia fu trattata dalla Pontificia Commissione per la redazione del *Codex Iuris Canonici Orientalis* che terminò nel 1948 i lavori di redazione del testo definitivo del Codice, che fu approvato da Papa Pio XII.

Questo Pontefice iniziò l'anno dopo la promulgazione progressiva di varie sue parti, arricchite dalle annotazioni delle fonti, ma Papa Giovanni XXIII, come è noto, rinviò la promulgazione delle altre parti a dopo il Concilio[39].

Comunque nel 1951, dopo le prime ordinazioni episcopali illecite avvenute in Cina, Papa Pio XII, prevedendo il ripetersi del caso, aveva comminato la scomunica "latae sententiae" ai Vescovi che avessero ordinato un altro Vescovo senza il mandato pontificio, ed a quello che avesse accettato di essere ordinato[40], ed aveva stralciato dallo schema del CICO e promulgato il 15 dicembre 1951[41] i canoni *de electione Episcoporum*, che erano stati approvati dalla Commissione sin dal 1937.

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[37] Cf. can. 27 – per l'adozione di questa locuzione, cf. Brogi "Le novità" (v. nota 36), 128-130, Idem, "Iglesia sui iuris", J. Otaduy, A. Viana, J. Sedano (a cura di), *Diccionario General de Derecho Canónico* IV (Navarra 2012) 395-397 (con nota bibliografica).

[38] Per questa breve sintesi storica, cf. M. D. Brogi, "Nomine Vescovili nelle Chiese orientali cattoliche" *Kanon* 7 (1985) 125-128.

[39] Per la Commissione ed il suo operato, cf. [Coussa] "Codificazione Canonica" (v. nota 3), D. Faltin, "Codificazione del Diritto Canonico Orientale", [Congregazione per le Chiese Orientali] (ed.), *La Sacra Congregazione per le Chiese Orientali nel Cinquantesimo della fondazione / 1917-1967*, Città del Vaticano 1969, 121-137; Brogi, "La Congregazione" (v. nota 2).

[40] Cf. Decreto del S. Officio del 9 aprile 1951 in AAS 43 (1951) 217s.

[41] Cf. N. Edelby, "Les Patriarches Orientaux", in N. Edelby, I. Dick, *Les Églises Orientales*

Questi canoni riprenderanno poi il loro posto nel Motu Proprio *Cleri Sancitati* promulgato il 2 giugno 1957 (cc. 252-254), ancora in vigore negli anni del Vaticano II.

Essi stabilivano che, effettuata sinodalmente l'elezione, mentre tutti coloro che ne conoscevano il risultato erano tenuti a mantenerlo segreto anche verso l'eletto, il Patriarca chiedeva al Papa la conferma dell'elezione, e chiedeva il consenso dell'eletto soltanto dopo averla ottenuta.

Seguivano la pubblicazione dell'elezione contemporaneamente in loco e sull'Osservatore Romano, e poi negli Acta Apostolicae Sedis.

Infine, il can. 255 suggeriva al Patriarca, al fine di poter procedere più celermente, di redigere sinodalmente, con votazione segreta, un elenco di presbiteri idonei all'episcopato e di sottoporlo all'approvazione della Santa Sede; qualora uno di questi candidati già approvati fosse stato eletto a una sede episcopale, il Patriarca poteva immediatamente chiedere il consenso dell'eletto, pubblicare la notizia dell'elezione e ordinare l'eletto, e nel frattempo informare la Santa Sede[42].

II. Il testo conciliare e la sua applicazione

Il Decreto *Orientalium Ecclesiarum* al n. 9,3 asserisce: "Patriarchae cum suis synodis superiorem constituunt instantiam pro quibusvis negotiis patriarchatus, non secluso iure [...] nominandi episcopos sui ritus intra fines territorii patriarchalis, salvo inalienabili Romani Pontificis iure in singulis casibus interveniendi".

Esso parte dunque dall'affermazione dell'autonomia delle Chiese patriarcali (ed arcivescovili maggiori) e cita due delle loro funzioni di maggior rilievo, le nomine episcopali e la creazione di nuove eparchie.

Il brano si chiude tuttavia con un inciso, che riafferma il diritto di intervenire del Romano Pontefice; potremmo dire che ambedue i punti siano evidenti, seppure paiano antitetici: il primo, che supera la normativa allora vigente, come conseguenza delle affermazioni che precedono, ed il secondo a motivo delle prerogative del Vescovo di Roma.

I primi commentatori del Decreto avevano invece ignorato questo secondo aspetto ed avevano interpretato OE 9 nel senso che i Patriarchi non fossero più tenuti ad alcuna comunicazione previa[43].

Catholiques – Décret Orientalium Ecclesiarum *(Unam Sanctam 76)*, Paris 1970, 364; Brogi, "Nomine Vescovili" (v. nota 38) 129.

42 Cf. Brogi, "Nomine Vescovili" (v. nota 38), 130s.

43 Cf. ad esempio, V. Pospishil, *Orientalium Ecclesiarum – The Decree on the Eastern Catholic Churches of the II Council of the Vatican*, New York 1965, 34: "The Decree desires that the intervention of the Roman Pontiff be not the rule but rather the exception"; anche M. Wojnar, "Decree on the Catholic Oriental Churches", *The Jurist* 25 (1965) 203.

Occorreva invece tener conto di ambedue i principi asseriti da OE 9,3, e studiare il modo di coordinarli.

Sul piano operativo, furono i Vescovi melkiti a rilevare, ancor prima della fine del Concilio, il contrasto tra l'asserzione, per quanto riguarda le nomine vescovili, ed i cc. 253 e 254 del *Cleri Sanctitati*, esposti più sopra.

Essi ne discussero in seno al loro Sinodo che, nella riunione dell'8 aprile 1965, decise di sollevare in modo indiretto il quesito alla Sede Romana: pertanto, il Patriarca Maximos IV Sayegh comunicò alla Congregazione chiamata allora "della Chiesa Orientale" che avrebbe convocato il Sinodo dopo Pasqua, per procedere all'elezione di quattro Vescovi.

Come avrebbe reagito la Congregazione, chiedendo di ricevere secondo la prassi quattro terne di candidati, oppure avrebbe atteso l'esito delle elezioni[44]?

Comunque, il medesimo Patriarca aveva già scritto al Papa, inviandogli uno studio che sosteneva che il Concilio aveva abrogato i cc. 253 e 254 del *Cleri Sanctitati*, ed aveva pertanto concesso ai Sinodi piena libertà ed autonomia per quanto concerne le elezioni vescovili[45],

Era invece importante mantenere, nella forma precedente o in altra forma da definire, il contatto con la S. Sede, affinché l'eletto potesse ricevere la *missio canonica*, che può essere concessa in tre modi, cioè per mezzo di legittime consuetudini, per mezzo di leggi o direttamente dal Successore di Pietro, che se questi si oppone o rifiuta la comunione apostolica, i vescovi non possono essere assunti nell'ufficio (LG 24)[46] — se fossero già stati validamente ordinati, essi rimangono vescovi, ma non in comunione con la Chiesa cattolica.

Il 25 aprile il Card. Cicognani comunica al Card. Testa che Papa Paolo VI suggerisce di sottoporre il caso a una congregazione cardinalizia[47].

La richiesta pare di difficile attuazione e dopo uno scambio di lettere, il Card. Testa riferisce al Segretario di Stato di aver sottoposto il quesito a tre Consultori, i gesuiti PP. Raes, Prefetto della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Wuyts e Řezáč, professori dell'Istituto Orientale[48].

I Consultori avevano confermato l'esistenza di un contrasto tra il testo

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[44] Dal rapporto del Nunzio a Damasco, Mons. Luigi Punzolo, N. 1969/65 del 10 aprile 1965 — questo documento, assieme a tutti gli altri che citerò in questa sezione, è conservato nell'Archivio della Congregazione per le Chiese Orientali, nel fasc. 106/65, "Elezioni Vescovili dopo il Decreto Conciliare del Vaticano II" classificata nel settore ORIENTE/Diritto.

[45] Lettera del 9 aprile 1965 Prot. 839, citata dal Card. Cicognani nella sua lunga risposta al Patriarca datata 16 luglio 1965, prot. 4220/65 con copia alla Congregazione Orientale.

[46] Cf. U. Betti, *La dottrina sull'Episcopato nel capitolo III della costituzione dommatica* Lumen Gentium, Roma 1968, 392s.

[47] Lettera del 25 aprile 1965 prot. 2412/65.

[48] Lettera del 29 maggio 1965, prot. 106/65.

conciliare e il diritto vigente, e avevano stimato che quest'ultimo dovesse essere aggiornato; essi avevano quindi esaminato alcune possibilità, suggerendo infine di rimettere la questione a un'erigenda Commissione Cardinalizia post-conciliare per l'applicazione dei decreti conciliari.

Nel frattempo, la Congregazione proponeva di invitare il Patriarca Melkita a soprassedere o, se egli avesse insistito nel suo proposito, di accondiscendere "ad casum".

Il 16 luglio il Card. Cicognani difende l'uso della conferma pontificia di ogni elezione, come segno di comunione dei singoli Vescovi con la Sede Romana[49], ma poi trasmette alla Congregazione Orientale copia di un breve messaggio[50], con il quale Mons. Luigi Punzolo, Internunzio Apostolico in Siria, comunica di aver saputo dalla stampa del Libano e della Giordania che il Sinodo Melkita ha eletto quattro Vescovi[51]: si saprà in seguito che si tratta dei sacerdoti Nicolas Hajj, Hilarion Capucci, Georges Haddad e Grégoire Haddad[52].

Il 26 settembre la Congregazione, incaricata da Papa Paolo VI di studiare la questione, chiede al Pontefice, tramite il Segretario di Stato, di poter proporre ai singoli Patriarchi di far pervenire alla Congregazione prima di ogni elezione le informazioni raccolte a norma del diritto (can. 252) e che il Patriarca stesso avrebbe presentato ai Vescovi della sua Chiesa in occasione delle elezioni[53]; questa soluzione corrispondeva in qualche modo ad una recente proposta del Patriarca melkita.

Quest'ultimo, qualche giorno dopo il Sinodo nel quale erano stati eletti quei quattro Vescovi, aveva inviato al Papa la proposta dei Vescovi melkiti: il Patriarca, quando convoca il Sinodo nel quale sono previste delle elezioni, il che normalmente avviene con due mesi di anticipo, ne avviserebbe la Santa Sede e le comunicherebbe i nomi di ciascun candidato, in modo che possa eventualmente opporsi a qualcuno di essi.

Egli aveva aggiunto che sarebbe stata sua cura che il Papa potesse conoscere l'esito delle elezioni prima della loro pubblicazione[54].

Nella risposta al Card. Testa, il Card. Cicognani trasmette l'approvazione di Papa Paolo VI, ma insiste sul fatto che bisogna cercare forme

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[49] Lettera del 16 luglio 1965 citata nella nota 45.

[50] Datato 31 agosto 1965, prot. 2160/65.

[51] Da un rapporto inviato dal medesimo Internunzio alla Congregazione, prot.2158/65 del 28 agosto 1965 veniamo a sapere che il Sinodo era stato celebrato a Ain Traz nei giorni 26-31 luglio 1965.

[52] Se ne ha notizia dalla stampa, ove è aggiunto che "Paul VI a reconnu ces élections".

[53] Lettera del Card. Testa al Card. Cicognani del 20 settembre 1965 prot. 106/65.

[54] Nota allegata alla lettera del Patriarca al Pontefice del 2 agosto 1965 prot. 1168; copia di questa nota è allegata dallo stesso Patriarca ad una sua lettera da Roma al Card. Testa datata 28 ottobre 1965, priva di numero di protocollo.

di comunicazione che possano evidenziare la comunione delle Gerarchie cattoliche orientali con il Vescovo di Roma, facendo altresì notare che la prassi della conferma è anteriore alla legislazione in vigore, poiché risale a Papa Pio IX[55].

Il Patriarca melkita risponde al quesito posto dal Card. Testa a lui e agli altri patriarchi ribadendo la sua proposta[56].

In un'Udienza del 7 febbraio 1966 il Card. Testa riferisce a Papa Paolo VI alcuni provvedimenti presi dal Sinodo Siro, attinenti ad alcune eparchie, ed il Papa decide (anzi, secondo il Cardinale, "ordina") che si risponda al Patriarca, Card. Tappouni, "a tenore di quanto sarà deciso ufficialmente [dalla Commissione Centrale per il coordinamento dei lavori post-conciliari e per l'interpretazione dei Decreti del Concilio][57] circa l'interpretazione autentica dell'Art. IX comma 4 [di *Orientalium Ecclesiarum*]"[58].

Il 17 gennaio 1966 il Card. Testa aveva infatti scritto all'Arciv. Pericle Felici, segretario generale della suddetta Commissione[59], chiedendogli se la clausola "salvo inalienabili Romani Pontificis iure in singulis casibus interveniendi" [...] doveva essere interpretata nel senso che "il diritto del Santo Padre è salvo solo se Egli potrà effettivamente giudicare, prima della pubblicazione dell'elezione e in singulis casibus" dell'idoneità dell'eletto o dei candidati[60] sottoponendogli il quesito, relativo a *Orientalium Ecclesiarum* 7,3.

L'attesa risposta non tarda ad arrivare, poiché quello stesso giorno la Commissione invia con lettera CI/26 copia del relativo Rescritto, approvato il 4 febbraio 1966 da Papa Paolo VI e a firma del Card. Cicognani: il Rescritto, breve e conciso, comunicava che la Commissione, riunitasi il 31 gennaio, dopo aver udito i Patriarchi, "re mature perpensa", rispondeva che i Patriarchi, attenendosi alla tradizione già da tempo introdotta, potevano chiedere al Sovrano Pontefice la sua conferma...[61].

Ma non era questo il problema!

Il 14 febbraio il Card. Testa riscrive all'Arciv. Felici, Segretario Generale della Commissione, che a sua volta risponde in data 22 febbraio 1966[62] confermando quanto aveva scritto: la Commissione ha risposto al quesito

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55 Lettera del Card. Cicognani del 28 settembre 1965 prot. 5532/65.

56 Lettera del 28 ottobre citata nella nota antecedente.

57 Essa era stata istituita il 3 gennaio 1966 con Motu Proprio *Finis Concilio* pubblicata in AAS 58 (1966) 37-40.

58 Foglio d'Udienza prot. N. 106/65.

59 Minuta in data 17 gennaio 1966, prot. N. 106/65.

60 Il quesito è così riferito nella lettera dell'Arciv. Felici prot. CI/41.

61 Rescritto con prot. CI/23.

62 Con la suddetta lettera prot. CI/41, nella quale cita la lettera del card. Testa.

proposto, ma non rientra nella sua competenza indicarne le modalità di attuazione.

Dopo due mesi di silenzio, l'Archivio della Congregazione Orientale offre copia di un progetto di lettera confidenziale da inviarsi al Card. Meouchi, Patriarca Maronita, prot. 3230/66, a firma del Card. Cicognani.

La lettera, spedita il 27 aprile 1966, deplora, seppure in modo piuttosto blando, il fatto che il Patriarca anteponga l'autonomia della sua Chiesa alle prescrizioni del Concilio ed alla premura per la piena comunione con il Vescovo di Roma.

Parrebbe che in quell'occasione la Segreteria di Stato abbia inviato alla Congregazione anche uno studio redatto in data 18 aprile 1966 da Carlo Furno, che quell'anno era annoverato fra il Personale Diplomatico della S. Sede in servizio presso la Segreteria di Stato[63].

Lo studio, essendo ampio ma nel medesimo tempo conciso, è difficilmente riassumibile: esso aveva per oggetto le elezioni dei Vescovi Orientali ed era così articolato: Dottrina del Vaticano II circa la "missio canonica" dei Vescovi – Origine della giurisdizione Episcopale – Proposte dei Patriarchi Orientali per la procedura nelle nomine vescovili – Principi per stabilire il modus procedendi – Proposta di modus procedendi – Comparazione del modus procedendi del Motu Proprio "Cleri Sanctitati" e quello proposto – Lettere di provvisione canonica dei Vescovi — Formulazione del dubium da proporre alla Commissione post-conciliare.

E questo è il dubium suggerito: "Utrum contra generale principium in n. 9 [...] [sit] quod Episcopi [...] nuntiari debeant Romano Pontifici, quo renuente seu communionem apostolicam denegante iidem electi in officium assumi nequeant".

Intanto era stata comunicata ai Patriarchi la risposta della Commissione del 31 gennaio ed il Patriarca Maximos IV la presenta ai suoi Vescovi il 29 aprile e scrive l'indomani stesso al Papa: "... Les Pères du Synode m'ont chargé de transmettre à Votre Sainteté l'expression de leur étonnement devant cette interprétation..." che secondo loro è in contraddizione con lo spirito ed il testo del Decreto Conciliare.

Il Patriarca si riserva di comunicare entro breve le motivazioni dell'atteggiamento del Sinodo, e prega il Papa di attendere per la pubblicazione del Rescritto[64].

Il 23 maggio il Card. Cicognani trasmette al Card. Testa[65] e all'Arciv.

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[63] Cf. *Ann. Pont.* 1966, 970.

[64] Lettera del Patriarca Maximos IV al Papa, in data 30 aprile 1966, senza numeo di protocollo.

[65] Lettera del Card. Cicognani con prot 3928/66.

Felici copia della lettera del Patriarca Maximos IV, con allegato lo studio preannunciato[66].

Il 10 giugno 1966[67] arriva alla Congregazione tramite la Segreteria di Stato la decisione finale, suggerita dalla Commissione nella sua riunione del 24 maggio 1966 ed approvata dal Romano Pontefice: "Nella suddetta riunione, dopo matura discussione, fu approvata come base questa norma: seguire una via di pratica intesa e di semplice applicabilità per quanto concerne sia l'elezione dei Vescovi sia la costituzione di nuove eparchie".

Viene pertanto chiesto al Card. Testa di "rispettosamente spiegare" ai Patriarchi questa conclusione: per la cui applicazione basterà che essi chiedano tempestivamente e riservatamente alla Santa Sede "se essa abbia nulla da obiettare", in modo da "rendere possibile alla Santa Sede di accordare poi subito la sua fiducia e la sua adesione alle libere decisioni dei Patriarchi e dei loro Sinodi".

La lettera prosegue ricordando che questa è la prassi seguita dagli Stati quando stanno per accreditare come ambasciatore presso un altro Stato una persona da loro liberamente scelta.

Il 22 giugno 1966 la Congregazione invia ai singoli Patriarchi una lettera con il solito numero di protocollo (106/65) per comunicare questa conclusione, e invitarli a comunicare alla Congregazione, prima di ogni elezione, l'elenco dei candidati[68].

Mentre la procedura rimane immutata la Congregazione, sollecitata a concordare una via pratica d'intesa, cerca di adeguare il proprio stile alla nuova visuale, e per prima cosa non parla più di "conferma pontificia"[69].

Trascurando, ed a me personalmente dispiace, i concetti suggeriti dalla Commissione Centrale e da lei stessa trasmessi ai Patriarchi nella sua lettera del 22 giugno 1966, cioè "accordare la fiducia", "gradire" oppure, ancor meglio, "aderire", essa sostituisce il termine "conferma" con consenso, presto divenuto "assenso", che è il termine entrato nel CCEO can. 182 § 3 e 185 § 2[70].

Prima di chiudere questa seconda parte della mia relazione, aggiungo che la Congregazione è spesso ingiustamente accusata di lentezza nello svolgimento dell'inchiesta avviata su ciascuno dei candidati proposti dai Patriar-

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[66] Lettera del Patriarca Maximos IV a Papa Paolo VI dell'11 maggio 1966, prot. 17/527.

[67] Con lettera prot. 4381/66.

[68] Per questa lettera cf. Brogi, "Nomine Vescovili" (v. nota 38), 131-134.

[69] Ricordo che il Superiore che conferma un'elezione è in realtà soltanto lui a dare all'eletto il pieno diritto all'ufficio al quale è stato eletto; cf. Brogi, "Nomine Vescovili" (v. nota 38), 133s.

[70] Per la prassi post-conciliare cf. M. D. Brogi, "Eparchies and Bishops", in G. Nedungatt (ed.), *A Guide to the Eastern Code – A commentary of the Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches* (= Kanonika 10), Rome 2002, 229-231.

chi, ma è stato rilevato che, dato che il Papa non deve semplicemente apporre un "visto" sui singoli nominativi, ma li deve approvare, è dovere degli Organismi che glieli sottopongono e pertanto, in un certo senso, glieli raccomandano, accertarsi dell'idoneità di ciascuno, prima di presentarglielo.

Posso concludere che, dopo questo laborioso iter, la Congregazione ha cercato (e, oso dire, sta ancora cercando) la prassi più adeguata per un'applicazione pratica di *Orientalium Ecclesiarum* 9,3, che rispetti i diritti del Romano Pontefice e soddisfi le giuste esigenze dei Patriarchi e degli Arcivescovi Maggiori.

B) Rapporti dei Vescovi della diaspora con le proprie Chiese

Il secondo passo del Decreto Conciliare *Orientalium Ecclesiarum* che intendo esaminare, e che in realtà ricorre nel Decreto stesso prima di quello ora esaminato, riguarda le relazioni dei Vescovi della c.d. Diaspora con il Patriarca ed il Sinodo della Chiesa sui iuris di appartenenza.

I. Situazione anteriore al Concilio

La costituzione di circoscrizioni ecclesiastiche orientali affidate ad un Vescovo del medesimo "rito" risale agli inizi del secolo scorso (per gli Ucraini, negli USA al 1913[71], nel Canada al 1948[72], in Gran Bretagna al 1957[73], in Australia al 1958[74], in Germania al 1959[75]; ancora negli USA, per i Maroniti al 1960[76], per i Ruteni al 1963[77] e per i Melkiti al 1966[78]; in Francia per gli Ucraini[79] e per gli Armeni[80] al 1960).

Questi Vescovi erano di nomina pontificia e partecipavano ad alcuni sinodi[81], ma non a quelli molto più importanti convocati per l'elezione del Patriarca e dei Vescovi della Chiesa di appartenenza che sarà poi denominata, nel CCEO, Chiesa sui iuris, mentre il sinodo sarà denominato Sinodo

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[71] Sacra Congregazione per le Chiese Orientali (ed.), *Oriente Cattolico – Cenni storici e statistiche* – Quarta edizione, Città del Vaticano 1974, 342.

[72] *Ibidem*, 345.

[73] *Ibidem*, 353.

[74] *Ibidem*, 351.

[75] *Ibidem*, 352.

[76] *Ibidem*, 456 et 147-149.

[77] *Ibidem*, 308.

[78] *Ibidem*, 261s.

[79] *Ibidem*, 351.

[80] *Ibidem*, 436s.

[81] Per i vari sinodi delle Chiese Patriarcali anteriormente al CCEO, vedasi M. D. Brogi, "Sinodi Patriarcali, Assemblee e Conferenze di rito orientale", *Antonianum* 51 (1976) 250-256.

dei Vescovi della Chiesa patriarcale (o arcivescovile maggiore)[82]; lo stesso Coussa riteneva che la dizione del *Cleri Sanctitati* can. 224, "omnes et soli (eiusdem) patriarchatus episcopi" escludesse i Vescovi della diaspora[83].

II. Disposizioni del Concilio

Il Decreto Conciliare *Orientalium Ecclesiarum*, nel terzo comma del paragrafo n. 7, enunzia invece l'esistenza di un particolare collegamento, di una non meglio specificata aggregazione, con l'asserire: "Ubicumque Hierarcha alicuius ritus extra fines territorii patriarchalis constituitur, manet aggregatus hierarchiae patriarchatus eiusdem ritus ad normam iuris".

Come abbiamo visto, per le elezioni episcopali si era dovuto cercare il modo di coordinare due asserzioni chiare, ma antitetiche, cioè la piena autonomia dei Patriarchi con i loro Sinodi, e il diritto d'intervento del Vescovo di Roma; qui invece ci troviamo dinanzi ad un'asserzione tassativa, mentre non è chiaro che cosa comporti l'asserita "aggregazione", che cosa significhi "aggregatus [...] ad normam iuris", dato per l'appunto il silenzio del diritto a questo riguardo.

L'istituto dell'aggregazione nel Motu Proprio *Postquam Apostolicis Litteris – De Religiosis. de Bonis Ecclesiae temporalibus, de Verborum Significatione*[84], considera infatti al can. 13 § 1.3° soltanto l'aggregazione di un monastero sui iuris ad una confederazione monastica oppure di un istituto di terziari ad un Primo Ordine[85] (questo canone corrispondeva a CIC '17 cc. 492 e 721-725[86]).

La questione fu sollevata in seno alla Congregazione per la Chiesa Orientale nel 1967, dopo il decesso del Patriarca melkita, Card. Maximos IV Sayegh (2 novembre 1967)[87], in occasione della convocazione del Sinodo per l'elezione del suo successore.

Leggiamo in una nota interna della Congregazione redatta il 10 novembre 1967[88] da Mons. Gianpietro Pozzi, officiale del Dicastero incaricato delle questioni dei Melkiti, che dopo il Concilio erano già stati celebrati due

[82] Nel Motu Proprio *Cleri Sanctitati* la denominazione canonica di questi sinodi, comunemente chiamati "sinodi patriarcali", pareva piuttosto incerta e indeterminata; essi erano indicati in modo generico, con riferimento all'elezione del Patriarca (cf. cc. 221, 251, 308.3°).

[83] Una nota interna della Congregazione Orientale del 22 novembre 1967, prot. N. 374/67, ricorda che così aveva risposto la Congregazione ad un dubbio sollevato il 10 luglio 1962 dal Vescovo Ausiliare del Patriarca Armeno.

[84] Promulgato da Papa Pio XII il 9 febbraio 1952.

[85] Cf. C. Pujol, *De Religiosis Orientalibus ad normam vigentis iuris* (Roma 1957) 75 et 81s.

[86] Cf. ad es., I. Chelodi, *Ius de Personis iuxta Codicem Iuris Canonici – praemisso Tractatu De Principiis et Fontibus I. C.*, Trento 1927, 502.

[87] Cf. *Ann. Pont.* 1968,112*.

[88] La nota è conservata nell'Archivio della Congregazione (fasc. 71/67 "Aggregatus – Inter-

Sinodi elettivi, uno dai maroniti, al quale erano stati convocati, secondo il diritto vigente ed anche secondo la prassi, tutti e soli i Vescovi del Patriarcato, mentre a quello elettivo dei Melkiti erano stati convocati anche i due Esarchi Apostolici "extra territorium", i quali erano tuttavia stati impossibilitati a partecipare, e che la Congregazione non era intervenuta nessuna delle due volte, ma aveva esposto la questione alla Commissione Centrale per il coordinamento dei lavori post-conciliari e per l'interpretazione dei Decreti del Concilio, la cui risposta non era tuttavia ancora pervenuta.

Il caso si riproponeva ora per l'elezione del nuovo Patriarca e la nota, dopo aver rilevato l'incertezza della situazione, suggeriva ai Superiori del Dicastero di non intervenire nemmeno questa volta, stante il dubbio, e di chiedere ancora una volta una risposta ufficiale a quella Commissione, ora denominata Pontificia Commissione per l'Interpretazione dei Decreti del Concilio Vaticano II.

E così fece il Card. Testa, che le sottopose il quesito con lettera del 13 novembre 1967, prot. 374/67[89], alla quale il Card. Pericle Felici[90], Presidente della Commissione, diede subito riscontro, con lettera del 17 Novembre, prot. N. 25/67.

Nel frattempo il Card. Testa aveva chiesto a Papa Paolo VI di poter dare al Nunzio Apostolico in Libano le debite istruzioni per "salvare la faccia" dei Melkiti, se avessero insistito nel convocare gli Esarchi, ed insieme garantire la validità delle elezioni[91].

Infatti, due giorni dopo, quel Nunzio informava telegraficamente che l'Amministratore del Patriarcato melkita aveva effettivamente convocato i due Esarchi Apostolici con giurisdizione "extra territorium", che quello degli Stati Uniti era già arrivato, e che egli pertanto chiedeva un provvedimento pontificio che li autorizzasse "pro hac vice" a partecipare all'elezione del Patriarca, cosa che il Card. Testa aveva infatti già chiesto al Pontefice[92]; comunque, una nota interna del Dicastero fa il punto della situazione ed evidenzia l'urgenza dell'invio della risposta[93].

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pretazione" classificato nel settore ORIENTE/Diritto). Da quello stesso fascicolo sono tratti, salvo diversa indicazione, tutti i documenti che citerò nelle pagine seguenti.

[89] La copia di questa lettera si trovava dunque nel fasc. 374/67 "Dubbio circa la voce attiva degli Esarchi al Sinodo" classificato nel settore MELKITI/Affari Generali e Patriarcato — questo fascicolo è stato poi conglobato nel fasc. 71/67 (v. nota 88).

[90] Già Segretario Generale di quella stessa Commissione, il Felici, elevato alla dignità cardinalizia nel Concistoro del 26 giugno 1967, ne divenne Presidente: cf. *Ann. Pont.* 1968, 93*.

[91] Nota per il Papa, prot. N. 374/67 del 15 novembre 1967, firmata dal Card. Testa e subito inviata a mano alla Segreteria di Stato.

[92] Comunicazione del Sostituto della Segreteria di Stato, Mons. Giovannni Benelli, al Segretario dell'Orientale, Mons. Mario Brini, in data 17 febbraio 1967, prot. N. 107137/C.

[93] Nota interna della Congregazione in data 18 novembre 1967, prot. N 374/67.

Il consecutivo 22 novembre il Sinodo elesse nuovo Patriarca Georges Hakim, Vescovo di Akka (San Giovanni d'Acri), il quale prese il nome di Maximos V[94].

La risposta della Commissione per l'Interpretazione è del 7 febbraio 1968, ed è negativa: gli Esarchi non possono partecipare all'elezione del Patriarca, ed i canoni del diritto vigente rimangono immutati.

La risposta era senz'altro deludente, e sappiamo da una nota interna redatta da Mons. Pozzi[95] che il Patriarca Maximos V inviò subito due Note, il 16 ed il 26 febbraio 1968.

Il nuovo Prefetto, Card. Maximilien de Fürstenberg[96] chiese pertanto ulteriori informazioni al Card. Felici, il quale gli rispose il 3 aprile 1968[97], allegando il verbale della riunione della Commissione[98] ed i voti dei periti[99].

"I voti — scrive il Card. Felici — contengono un particolareggiato esame della legislazione canonica orientale e del testo del Decreto Conciliare, sia nella sua preparazione in sede di commissione, sia nella 'expensio' dei modi dei Padri Conciliari fatta dalla medesima Commissione".

È stato rilevato che ancor prima del *Cleri Sanctitati*, i Vescovi "extra territorium" non erano invitati ai sinodi elettivi, ed anche che la loro eventuale convocazione ad un sinodo implicherebbe una loro soggezione alla giurisdizione del Patriarca (o dell'Amministratore del Patriarcato).

La questione fu esaminata dalla Commissione per l'Interpretazione ed i membri presenti, i Cardinali Felici, Villot, de Fürstenberg, ed i Vescovi Violardo (ponente), Schröffer e Rubin convengono nella conclusione, approvata da Papa Paolo VI il 5 febbraio ed ora trasmessa dal Card. Felici: "Detta Commissione [Conciliare] con il termine 'aggregatus' ha inteso di escludere ogni significato di giurisdizione del Patriarca sui Gerarchi residenti fuori del territorio patriarcale ed ha voluto indicare solo una relazione 'morale', senza alcuna soggezione al Patriarca"[100].

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[94] Cf. *Ann. Pont.* 1968, 4.

[95] La nota, molto ampia, è in data 20 aprile 1968. Prot. N. 374/67. Intesa a preparare la risposta da dare al Patriarca, essa riassume le argomentazioni dei singoli consultori, i PP. Pujol, Tocanel e Welykyi.

[96] Il Cardinale Maximilien de Fürstenberg (1904-1988) fu Prefetto della Congregazione Orientale dal 1968 al 1973; cf. *Archivio* della medesima Congregazione, Pos. N. 52/68, classificata in ORIENTE/Segreteria, N. Del Re, "I Cardinali e gli Assessori" (v. nota 3), "I Cardinali Segretari - 8", 96.

[97] Lettera del Card. Felici su carta intestata alla "Pontificia Commissio Decretis Concilii Vaticani II interpretandis", prot. N. 80/68.

[98] Documento su carta intestata della Commissione con segnato a mano il numero di protocollo (80/68), con timbro della Commissione e firma autografa del Card. Felici, con segnata a mano la data del 23.I.68 ed anche, ugualmente a mano, "giunta il 28 aprile 1968".

[99] La lettera del Card. Felici era "con inserti", ed un'annotazione a mano indica che si trattava dei voti dei PP. Pujol, Tocanel e Welykyi.

[100] Infatti Papa Paolo VI, prima di approvare il Decreto *Orientalium Ecclesiarum*, si era

Un'altra nota interna, siglata D.B. (molto probabilmente Mons. Agostino Di Biagio, officiale del Dicastero incaricato delle questioni degli Ucraini), completa lo studio dei voti dei tre periti, ugualmente in vista della risposta da dare al Patriarca Maximos V, il quale aveva presentato alla Segreteria di Stato una propria nota, datata 18 febbraio 1968, "sur la participation au St. Synode des évêques orientaux établis en dehors du territoire patriarcal"[101].

L'estensore della citata nota interna argomenta: non si può dire che i Padri Conciliari avrebbero usato il termine "aggregato" per non dire nulla, ma piuttosto che essi hanno inteso rimettere al futuro codice orientale il compito di esplicitare il contenuto di questo nuovo rapporto giuridico creato dal Concilio stesso tra i Vescovi "fuori territorio" ed il Sinodo della loro Chiesa, escludendo tuttavia una loro piena incorporazione, poiché questa avrebbe comportato un'estensione della giurisdizione dei Patriarchi e dei Sinodi oltre il territorio della loro Chiesa[102]. Le argomentazioni dei due documenti sono sintetizzate in una terza nota, datata 6 maggio 1968[103].

Una nota c'informa che l'argomento era stato trattato anche a voce, durante una recente visita del Patriarca melkita alla Congregazione[104], nel corso della quale il Patriarca aveva auspicato che, in attesa di quanto avrebbe stabilito il CICO, gli Esarchi "extra territorium" potessero partecipare ai sinodi elettivi "ex facultate a Sede Apostolica impetranda".

Intanto, cessa di vivere il Vescovo Justin Najm, Esarca Apostolico melkita negli USA, ed il Patriarca manifesta l'intenzione di procedere alla nomina di un Amministratore Patriarcale dell'Esarcato: con un provvedimento del genere il Patriarca avrebbe di fatto incluso quell'esarcato sotto la propria giurisdizione.

Comunque, il Patriarca melkita non molla; venuto in Congregazione il 7 giugno 1968, egli chiede di conoscere le argomentazioni della Commissione per l'Interpretazione per sottoporle "allo studio del suo Sinodo" ed anche quando è richiesto di un parere sui candidati all'ufficio di Esarca per

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assicurato la sera del 20 novembre 1964 presso il Card. Testa, tramite il Sostituto Mons. Angelo Dell'Acqua, che esso non comportasse l'estensione della giurisdizione dei Patriarchi sino agli USA (appunto di Mons. Mario Rizzi del 13 maggio 1965, conservato in apertura del fasc. 106/65, da noi già incontrato [ORIENTE/Diritto – "Elezioni Vescovili dopo il Decreto Conciliare del Vaticano II"]).

[101] Ne abbiamo notizia da una lettera dell'Arcivescovo Brini all'Arcivescovo Agostino Casaroli, Segretario di Stato ma non ancora Cardinale, in data 7 agosto 1968, prot. N. 374/67: in seguito a questa Nota, la Segreteria di Stato sospese la pubblicazione dell'interpretazione autentica negli *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*.

[102] Datata 25 aprile 1968, prot. 374/67; essa è preceduta da un appunto autografo sull'argomento — la calligrafia è quella del Segretario Mario Brini.

[103] Prot. N. 374/67.

[104] Nota 28 maggio 1968, prot. 71/67.

gli USA, egli risponde che esaminerà i nominativi presentatigli in seno al suo Sinodo.

La Congregazione riferisce il tutto alla Segreteria di Stato[105], e propone due alternative: assecondare la richiesta del Patriarca, specificando chiaramente che si tratta di una concessione pontificia limitata al caso, in attesa di quanto potrà essere stabilito dal futuro Codice di Diritto Canonico Orientale, oppure procedere alla pubblicazione dell'Interpretazione Autentica in oggetto.

Papa Paolo VI, che non vuole opporre al Patriarca melkita un rifiuto netto, ma che nel medesimo tempo non vuol concedere a lui e con lui agli altri Patriarchi cattolici orientali l'estensione della loro giurisdizione, decide di consultare, tramite la Congregazione Orientale, la Pontificia Commissione per la redazione del Codice di Diritto Canonico Orientale, ed il Prefetto scrive in questo senso al Presidente della Commissione, Card. Gregorio Pietro Agagianian[106].

Con un suo biglietto personale, Mons. Giovanni Benelli, Sostituto della Segreteria di Stato, indirizzato presumibilmente a Mons. Brini[107], gli invia copia di una sua lettera[108] con la quale egli aveva comunicato al Card. Felici che la Segreteria di Stato, la quale aveva ritardato la pubblicazione negli *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* di varie decisioni della Commissione per l'Interpretazione, le avrebbe ora pubblicate, ma con alcune eccezioni, fra le quali l'interpretazione del termine "aggregatus".

Nel frattempo era giunto a Roma il voto del P. Elias Nijmé, Perito di fiducia del Patriarca melkita; dopo aver esaminato i voti dei Periti consultati dalla Commissione per l'Interpretazione dei Testi Conciliari, egli ammette che la questione non potrà essere risolta che con un dialogo che porti ad un compromesso; egli tuttavia esprime dei giudizi poco generosi sui Dicasteri romani, e propone che detto dialogo si svolga direttamente tra il Papa ed il Patriarca melkita[109].

Intanto il Segretario di Stato Card. Cicognani comunica al Card. de Fürstenberg il pensiero di Papa Paolo VI: si mantenga sospesa la pubblicazione dell'Interpretazione Autentica sino all'esame di tutti i dati in seguito acquisiti, e si avvii un nuovo esame della questione[110].

La Pontificia Commissione per la redazione del CICO che, come ab-

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[105] Con la lettera del 7 agosto 1968, già incontrata.

[106] Lettera del 24 settembre 1968, Prot. N. 71/67.

[107] È in data 31 maggio 1968.

[108] Prot. N. 112334 in data 9 maggio 1968.

[109] Nota datata "Ain-Traz, le 5-9-68", a firma di Elias Nijmé, "Professeur à la Faculté Théologique de l'Université de Kaslik".

[110] Lettera del Card. Cicognani del 17 settembre 1968, prot. N. 6148/68.

biamo già visto, aveva ricevuto da Papa Paolo VI il mandato di studiare il caso, lo aveva scomposto in due quesiti, che furono esaminati in Riunione Plenaria dei suoi Membri, e presenta il 29 marzo 1969 il Verbale della Riunione a Papa Paolo VI. il quale lo fa conoscere il 2 aprile alla Congregazione Orientale[111], chiedendone il parere.

Riferisce quel Verbale che i Cardinali che avevano partecipato alla riunione[112] avevano risposto ai due quesiti convenendo quasi all'unanimità quanto al primo che l'applicazione del dettato conciliare suggerisce la concessione della voce attiva ai Gerarchi costituiti al di fuori del territorio del patriarcato anche nei sinodi elettivi, oltre agli altri, per i quali il diritto comune ne contemplava già la partecipazione.

Anche il secondo quesito, che aveva come oggetto la designazione degli Esarchi ed altri Gerarchi con giurisdizione fuori del territorio patriarcale, aveva visto i Membri della Commissione convenire quasi tutti sulla concessione ai sinodi patriarcali della facoltà di indicare alla Santa Sede una terna di candidati.

Siccome il Papa, come è stato detto, aveva invitato il Card. de Fürstenberg a manifestargli il suo parere, questi risponde alla Segreteria di Stato il 26 maggio 1969[113], inviando al Segretario di Stato Card. Jean Villot una lunga lettera nella quale analizza le conclusioni della Commissione, che egli condivide.

Egli tuttavia indica alcune puntualizzazioni, al fine di armonizzare l'attuazione pratica con la normativa vigente e tenendo presente l'esperienza della Congregazione[114]; infine, in considerazione dei possibili riflessi in campo ecumenico dei provvedimenti auspicati, egli suggerisce alla Segreteria di Stato di udire il parere del Segretariato per l'Unione dei Cristiani.

Il 23 settembre 1969 Papa Paolo VI chiede alla Commissione per la redazione del CICO tramite lettera della Segreteria di Stato di prot. N. 135699, di formulare in collaborazione con la Congregazione Orientale il testo delle conclusioni della Plenaria della Commissione ed il Card. Agagianian ne informa la Congregazione[115] e in seguito le fa pervenire il parere piuttosto critico del Card. Felici e quello del Segretariato per l'Unione dei Cristiani, che purtroppo non ci è pervenuto[116].

Siamo ormai alle ultime battute: il 3 dicembre la Commissione per la

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[111] Lettera del Sostituto Benelli al Card. de Fürstenberg prot. N.135699.

[112] Sono i Cardinali Agagianian (Presidente), Larraona (Ponente), Tisserant, Heard, Cicognani e Slipyij.

[113] La lettera con prot. n. 71/67 è indirizzata al Card. Villot, Segretario di Stato.

[114] Risulta dall'archivio che la Congregazione era ricorsa per questo studio al P. Řezáč.

[115] Lettera del Card. Agagianian del 7 ottobre 1969.

[116] Lettera del P. Daniel Faltin a nome del Card. Agagianian del 18 novembre 1969.

redazione del CICO invia alla Congregazione una bozza di "textus concordatus cum textu a S. C. Orientali proposito", e finalmente, l'11 dicembre 1969, il Card. Agagianian trasmetterà al Segretario di Stato il testo definitivo del provvedimento.

Il 17 marzo 1970 il Card. Villot comunica al Card. de Fürstenberg che Papa Paolo VI ha approvato il testo proposto e ne ha disposto la promulgazione sotto forma di "Declaratio" della Congregazione per le Chiese Orientali[117].

Il 25 marzo il Card. de Fürstenberg invia al Card. Villot il testo definitivo, con preghiera di pubblicazione negli *Acta Apostolicae Sedis.*

La Dichiarazione è datata 25 marzo 1970: essa dichiara "de mandatu Summi Pontificis" che i Gerarchi Orientali "extra fines territorii patriarchalis constituti" possono partecipare con voto deliberativo ai Sinodi patriarcali del proprio rito, "sive electionum sive negotiorum"; che il Patriarca (o l'Amministratore Patriarcale) sono tenuti a convocarli; che per la designazione di tali Gerarchi il Patriarca con il proprio Sinodo ha la facoltà di proporre (proponere valet) alla Sede Apostolica un elenco di almeno tre candidati, salvo rimanendo il diritto del Romano Pontefice di nominare "quem Ipse maluerit".

Si ricorda infine che questa deroga al diritto vigente non comporta alcuna estensione della potestà di giurisdizione dei Patriarchi "extra fines sui patriarchatus".

La Dichiarazione è a firma del Prefetto Card. M. de Fürstenberg e controfirma del Segretario, Mario Brini[118], ed il suo contenuto è poi entrato nel CCEO, cc. 149s, con un rinvio al can.102 §2[119].

Riassumendo

Nelle pagine che precedono ho esaminato i tre provvedimenti emanati dal Romano Pontefice tra la solenne chiusura del Vaticano II (8 dicembre 1965) e l'istituzione della Pontificia Commissione per la revisione del CICO (di cui si è avuta notizia il 10 giugno 1972), che hanno subito modificato la normativa pontificia riguardante le Chiese Orientali cattoliche.

Il primo di questi provvedimenti fu promulgato il 2 maggio 1967 con la Lettera Apostolica *Episcopalis Potestatis*, di attuazione del paragrafo n. 8 del Decreto Conciliare *Christus Dominus* sulla Missione Pastorale dei Vescovi nella Chiesa.

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[117] La lettera del Card. Villot ha il numero di protocollo già incontrato, n.135699.

[118] V. AAS 62 (1970) 179.

[119] Cf. J. D. Faris "Patriarchal Churches (cc. 55-150)", in G. Nedungatt (ed.), *A Guide to the Eastern Code – A commentary of the Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches* (= Kanonika 10), Rome 2002, 195s.

I principi enucleati nel cap. III della Costituzione Dommatica *Lumen Gentium* avevano infatti presentato il Vescovo diocesano in una nuova prospettiva, asserendo che egli governa i suoi fedeli "loco Dei", quale "vicarius et legatus Christi".

Il Decreto *Christus Dominus* asserisce coerentemente che il Vescovo gode in virtù dell'ordinazione episcopale e della missione canonica di tutte le facoltà richieste per l'esercizio del suo ufficio pastorale.

Pertanto egli può anche dispensare i suoi fedeli dall'osservanza di qualsiasi legge generale della Chiesa ogni qual volta egli giudichi che ciò sia richiesto dal loro bene spirituale, ma il Concilio stesso, nel dargliene esplicitamente la facoltà, afferma il diritto del Romano Pontefice di delimitarla, escludendo alcuni casi o anche riservando alcune dispense a Sé o ad altra Autorità.

L'entrata in vigore del Decreto Conciliare presupponeva dunque un intervento previo del Romano Pontefice, che indicasse quali campi fossero sottratti dalla facoltà dei Vescovi di dispensare, e stabilisse un elenco di casi la cui dispensa fosse riservata al Papa.

Mentre la cosa fu piuttosto semplice nei riguardi dei Vescovi latini, per i quali vigevano allora le disposizioni del CIC '17 e vari elenchi di facoltà concesse dalla Santa Sede, e per i quali fu promulgato il 15 giugno 1966 il Motu Proprio *De Episcoporum Muneribus*, la Congregazione detta allora per la Chiesa Orientale rilevò la difficoltà derivante dal dover esaminare la molteplicità delle legislazioni particolari delle Chiese Orientali cattoliche, per le quali non esisteva ancora un codice di diritto comune, dato che il Codex Iuris Canonici Orientalis non era ancora stato promulgato per intero.

Ogni difficoltà fu superata con la formulazione del citato Motu proprio *Episcopalis Potestatis*, che se da un lato scorre parallelamente al *De Episcoporum Muneribus*, d'altra parte se ne stacca con varie specificazioni relative alle Chiese Orientali.

I principi attinenti alla facoltà dei Vescovi orientali di dispensare in singoli casi dalle leggi generali sono ora enunziati dal CCEO can. 1538 § 1, mentre le singole riserve sono state introdotte in vari luoghi del medesimo Codice.

Gli altri due provvedimenti riguardano invece l'applicazione pratica di alcuni passi del Decreto Conciliare *Orientalium Ecclesiarum* sulle Chiese cattoliche orientali.

Dopo aver asserito l'autonomia delle singole Chiese patriarcali, la cui istanza superiore (distinta da quella suprema) è costituita dai Patriarchi con i loro sinodi, il Decreto cita due loro competenze di primaria importanza, le elezioni vescovili e l'erezione di nuove diocesi, aggiungendo subito "salvo Romani Pontificis iure in singulis casibus interveniendi" (OE 7,3).

Il Concilio aveva così asserito che le decisioni emanate dai Patriarchi

con i loro Sinodi in queste due fattispecie e quindi, a più forte ragione, in quelle meno importanti, sono dunque complete, e non richiedono alcuna conferma da parte del Romano Pontefice.

Di fatto, l'attenzione si concentrò sulle elezioni vescovili.

Nessuno metteva in dubbio queste asserzioni, l'autonomia delle Chiese patriarcali e il primato del Vescovo di Roma, ma il loro coordinamento creava problema: la ricerca di una soluzione ha impegnato per oltre un anno in dialoghi serrati Papa Paolo VI, vari Patriarchi cattolici orientali ed in particolare quelli melkiti, Maximos IV ed il successore Maximos V con i loro Vescovi, la Segreteria di Stato e la Congregazione Orientale; fu anche consultata la Commissione Centrale per il coordinamento dei lavori post-conciliari e per l'interpretazione dei Decreti del Concilio.

La conclusione fu che i due principi erano chiari, e che la difficoltà non poteva essere risolta che in qualche modo pratico, al fine di evitare che un eventuale intervento negativo del Romano Pontefice a cose fatte non risultasse ancor più dannoso per le sue risonanze della disposizione stessa che si voleva correggere o annullare.

Pareva dunque necessaria una comunicazione al Romano Pontefice dei nominativi dei candidati o degli eletti previa alla pubblicazione dei risultati delle elezioni, per dare modo agli organi della Santa Sede di informarsi e riferirne al Papa, in modo che egli si potesse pronunziare con piena cognizione di causa.

Nel medesimo tempo occorreva evitare che questa procedura fosse considerata una censura previa, indubbiamente lesiva dell'autonomia delle Chiese patriarcali.

Fu questa la linea comunicata dalla Congregazione Orientale a nome del Romano Pontefice, con lettera del 22 giugno 1966.

In questo modo si è inteso evidenziare la comunione dei Patriarchi e i loro Sinodi con il Romano Pontefice: detta comunicazione deve avere carattere di condivisione, di richiesta al Papa di aderire alle scelte fatte liberamente dai Patriarchi con i loro Sinodi; al riguardo Papa Paolo VI la equipara alla richiesta del gradimento di un ambasciatore, fatta dallo Stato che lo ha scelto a quello presso il quale detto ambasciatore è destinato.

La scelta dell'ambasciatore è libera, ma è nel medesimo tempo subordinata al gradimento dello Stato che lo deve ricevere.

I canoni del CCEO (cc. 181-186) relativi alle elezioni vescovili differiscono di poco nella loro formulazione, da quelli del *Cleri Sanctitati*, ove si eccettui la sostituzione della richiesta della conferma del Papa con la richiesta del suo assenso, ma ciò che è cambiato è nella sostanza.

Infine, anche il terzo provvedimento riguarda l'applicazione di un altro passo di *Orientalium Ecclesiarum*, attinente ai Vescovi della c.d. diaspora.

Secondo il diritto allora vigente, essi erano nominati dal Romano Pontefice senza alcun intervento della loro Chiesa patriarcale; essi tuttavia partecipavano ad alcuni dei Sinodi dei Vescovi della loro Chiesa, seppur rimanendo esclusi da quelli elettivi.

In OE 7,3 i Padri Conciliari avevano invece asserito l'esistenza di un particolare rapporto tra questi Vescovi e la loro Chiesa, creando così un nuovo istituto, con lo stabilire che i Gerarchi con giurisdizione al di fuori del territorio patriarcale, come si diceva allora, non sono separati dalla gerarchia "del loro rito", ma le rimangono aggregati "ad normam iuris".

Il Concilio ha dunque ammesso l'esistenza di uno stato canonico distinto dal pieno inserimento dei Gerarchi "extra territorium" nella Gerarchia del Patriarcato, il che avrebbe comportato la non voluta estensione della potestà del Patriarca oltre i confini del suo patriarcato, senza tuttavia indicarne la natura, ma limitandosi ad asserire che detta aggregazione fosse effettuata "ad normam iuris". Però il diritto allora vigente non poteva essere di nessun aiuto, poiché esso conosceva dei tipi di aggregazione non applicabili al caso.

Anche la questione della partecipazione dei Vescovi della diaspora ad un sinodo elettivo fu sollevata dai Melkiti in occasione dell'elezione del successore del Patriarca Maximos IV, deceduto il 2 novembre 1967; occorreva pertanto definire una soluzione che rendesse possibile la partecipazione dei Vescovi costituiti "extra territorium patriarchale" senza sottoporli, loro ed i loro territori alla potestà del Patriarca.

La ricerca di questa soluzione impegnò nuovamente, per oltre due anni, Papa Paolo VI, alcuni Patriarchi, specialmente quello melkita, con i loro episcopati, la Segreteria di Stato e la Congregazione che proprio in quel periodo fu denominata "per le Chiese Orientali", al plurale.

La Pontificia Commissione per l'Interpretazione dei Decreti del Concilio Vaticano II non poté dare alcuna risposta: era certamente escluso il pieno inserimento dei Gerarchi "extra territorium" nella gerarchia del Patriarcato, ma era compito del futuro CICO definire la natura del rapporto di aggregazione.

Papa Paolo VI fece allora sottoporre il quesito alla Pontificia Commissione per la Redazione del CICO, che lo esaminò nel marzo del 1969, ed asserì che pareva doversi concedere ai Vescovi della diaspora voce attiva in tutti i sinodi, sia elettivi che di affari, ed ai Patriarchi con i loro Sinodi, in caso di vacanza delle sedi "extra territorium", la facoltà di presentare alla Santa Sede una terna di candidati.

Dopo altre comunicazioni tra gli organismi della Santa Sede già incontrati ed il coinvolgimento della Commissione per l'Interpretazione e del Segretariato per l'Unione dei Cristiani, Paolo VI accoglie le proposte della

Commissione per il CICO e le affida l'incarico di redigere assieme alla Congregazione per le Chiese Orientali il testo che sarà promulgato "de mandato Summi Pontificis" il 25 marzo 1970 sotto forma di Dichiarazione di quella Congregazione.

La norma entrerà poi nel CCEO, cc. 149s.

In chiusura di questo mio lavoro ringrazio S. Em. il Card. Leonardo Sandri, Prefetto della Congregazione per le Chiese Orientali, il quale, accogliendomi sempre con viva cordialità nei miei passaggi dalla Congregazione, mi incoraggia a continuarmi ad interessare alla vita ed alla storia di quel Dicastero.

Ringrazio pure il Segretario, l'Arcivescovo Cyril Vasil', S.I., per la libertà d'accesso all'Archivio della Congregazione di cui posso godere, ed infine il dott. Gianpaolo Rigotti, l'Archivista, per la sua cortese disponibilità e preziosa collaborazione.

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Summary

The Second Vatican Council concluded its work on December 8th 1965, while the Pontifical Commission for the revision of the Code of Oriental Canon Law (CICO) was established only on June 1972. However, some urgent needs risen between these two dates had required urgent solution; this paper exposes the origin and development of the three documents regarding the Oriental Hierarchy issued in that period by the Holy See.

The first one is the Motu Proprio *Episcopalis Potestatis*, issued by Pope Paul VI on May 2nd 1967, for the application of *Christus Dominus* (CD) 8: while all the bishops until that day were not allowed to exempt their faithful from any pontifical law, unless they be authorised by the Supreme Authority of the Church, the Council stated that the bishop governs his eparchy "loco Dei", as "Legatus et Vicarius Christi" (see LG 27), which implies that he must also be able to exempt a person from any law, if it is required for his spiritual good. CD 8 confirmed this principle, adding however that «this never in any way infringes upon the power which the Roman Pontiff has ... of reserving cases to him or to some other authority». It was therefore necessary that a list of the reservations, if any, be addressed by the Holy See before the entering in force of *Christus Dominus*; therefore the Congregation for the Oriental Churches had been charged to study the question, and the result was the above mentioned Motu Proprio *Episcopalis Potestatis* and then entered the Code of Canons of the Oriental Churches (CCEO) can. 1538 § 1.

The second document was a Letter giving instructions about the appointment of bishops, in application of *Orientalium Ecclesiarum* 9.3 stating that «the Patriarchs with their Synod are the higher authority for all business of the patriarchate, including the right of ... nominating bishops of their rite..., without prejudice of the inalienable right of the Roman Pontiff

to intervene in individual cases». It was clear that the nomination of a bishop was no more requiring any confirmation of the Pope, but it was not said how or when would he intervene, if necessary. The question was raised in April 1965 by the Melkite Patriarch, wishing to nominate four bishops, and while Pope Paul VI started to study the matter with the Secretariat of State and the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, the Synod of the Melkite Church elected in July 1965 those bishops and published their names. The study went on, involving also some Oriental Churches, and finally the Pope sent to the Oriental Congregation through the Secretariat of State the model of a letter, which was sent by Cardinal Gustavo Testa to each Patriarch on June 22nd 1966: they were asked to submit each candidate for bishopric to the Pope, asking if there be any objection on them, so that he may agree with his election (see CCEO cc. 182 § 3 e 185 § 2).

The third document concerns the bishops in charge outside the territory of the patriarchate. Until the Council they were appointed by the Holy See and took *de facto* part in the Synods of their Church, excepting the elective ones. The Council stated that «wherever a hierarch of any rite is appointed outside the territorial bounds of the patriarchate, he remains attached (in Latin: *aggregatus*) to the hierarchy of the patriarchate of that rite, in accordance with canon law». As canon law at that time had no prescription on the topic, the reference obviously was to a future law, but the question was urged once again by the Melkite Church, as the two bishops from outside the patriarchate had been convoked after the death of Patriarch Maximos IV (November 2nd 1967) to the Synod who had to elect his successor. The question was studied very attentively by the Secretariat of State and the Oriental Congregation, together with some other Organs of the Holy See and also involving some Patriarchs, until a solution was found more than a year later. Then Pope Paul VI asked the President of the Pontifical Commission for the revision of CICO and the Prefect of the Oriental Congregation to prepare a text which after his approval was released as a *Declaratio* by Prefect Cardinal de Fürstenberg on March 25th 1970. According to this Declaration, the Bishops established outside the territorial boundaries of their Patriarchate may take part in all the Synods of their patriarchate, who must convoke them. Their appointment is still reserved to the Roman Pontiff, but the Synods have the right to present three candidates for each vacant See; these directions has entered CCEO, cc. 149-150.

Enrico Cattaneo, S.J.

Un nuovo approccio al primo concilio di Nicea (325)[1]

L'idea di riprendere la storia della controversia ariana e del primo concilio di Nicea a partire dai documenti di base, è senz'altro da apprezzare. I testi sono riportati in greco, con a fianco la traduzione inglese, e intramezzati dal commento. Diciamo subito che ci vuole una buona dose di coraggio per riprendere una vicenda estremamente complessa come quella ariana, «nella quale si incontrarono e si scontrarono problemi dottrinali, interessi politici [...] e contrasti tra le persone. Da qui una notevole difficoltà a ricostruirne la storia, anche per la molteplicità e tendenziosità delle fonti»[2]. Non ho la pretesa di entrare in questa complessa materia. Intendo solo presentare le posizioni di Pietras in questo suo stimolante studio, aggiungendo qualche mia personale osservazione.

Il primo documento riporto è la *Lettera di Ario ad Alessandro* (pp. 23-34). Secondo Epifanio (*Panarion* 69, 7), Ario l'avrebbe scritta da Nicomedia, dopo avere lasciato Alessandria in seguito alla condanna da parte di Alessandro. Invece per Pietras essa sarebbe stata redatta prima, proprio in occasione del sinodo alessandrino, nel quale Ario sarebbe stato condannato (p. 23). La questione della data è dunque dibattuta (Opitz, *Urkunde*, p. 12 la pone circa nel 320). Questa lettera è stata conservata da Atanasio (*De Synodis* 16) e da Epifanio (*Panarion* 69, 7-8), ma anche, in latino, da Ilario (*La Trinità* 4, 12 e 6, 5). Pietras giustamente sottolinea che la preoccupazione di Ario è di natura prettamente cristologica: se Cristo infatti ci ha "meritato" la salvezza, ciò significa che la sua obbedienza al Padre è stata meritoria, e quindi proveniva da una volontà libera di scegliere il bene e il male. Se Cristo, pur godendo di questa libertà, è tuttavia rimasto «inalterato e immutato» (così sarebbe meglio tradurre, e non «unalterable and unchangeable», che si può dire solo di Dio), ciò gli fu dato per grazia (pp. 24-25). Pietras ricorda che tale questione fu risolta definitivamente solo al concilio Costantinopolitano III (680-681), con l'affermazione della

[1] Henryk Pietras SJ, *Council of Nicea (325). Religious and Political Context, Documents, Commentaries*, Gregorian & Biblical Press, Roma 2016, pp. 248.

[2] E. Bellini, *Alessandro e Ario. Un esempio di conflitto tra fede e ideologia. Documenti della prima controversia ariana*, Jaca Book, Milano 1974, p. 11.

duplice volontà in Cristo (cf. pp. 24-25)[3]. Notiamo che nella sua lettera Ario mette in mezzo il termine *homoousios* (consostanziale), ma rifiutandolo, in quanto esso implicherebbe in Dio la possibilità di una divisione e di una alterazione, cosa propria dei corpi e non di un puro spirito. La traduzione inglese di *homoousios* come «one in essence» mi sembra che faccia dire troppo a quel termine, orientandolo in senso monarchiano, cosa che invece Pietras negherà (cf. pp. 194-197).

La *Thalia*, composizione in versi scritta da Ario «prima dello scoppio della controversia», è riportata secondo la citazione di Atanasio in *De Synodis* 15, ma senza alcun commento. Esistono però anche altri frammenti della *Thalia*, non riportati, tranne uno[4]. Notiamo solo che in quest'opera compaiono le parole *hypostasis* e *homoousios*: «[Il figlio] non ha nulla che sia proprio di Dio secondo la sostanza (*kath'hypostasin*) della proprietà, perché non è né eguale (*isos*) né consostanziale a lui (*homoousios autôi*)» (p. 35).

Quanto alla lettera enciclica di Alessandro (*Henòs sômatos*), Pietras sostiene che essa è stata scritta poco dopo il sinodo alessandrino che ha condannato Ario, ma nega che ci sia di mezzo la mano di Atanasio (allora troppo giovane) (p. 39). Sembra poi che Alessandro abbia un po' forzato il pensiero di Ario, il quale non avrebbe fatto altro che seguire la dottrina tradizionale (cf. p. 43). Ario infatti non aveva scritto che il Figlio è stato fatto «dal nulla», ma che è «da Dio», cosa però che si può dire anche di tutte le creature. Siccome egli considerava Dio come una Monade indivisibile, «non è travisare il suo pensiero dire che il Figlio è stato creato dal nulla» (p. 44). E difatti Ario lo affermerà espressamente nella sua lettera ad Eusebio di Nicomedia, quando dirà: «Per questo siamo perseguitati, perché diciamo che [il Figlio] è dal nulla» (§ 5, p. 61).

A proposito della lettera di Alessandro, tre sono a mio avviso le cose degne di nota. (1) Il riconoscimento della cautela con cui il vescovo ha proceduto nei confronti di Ario: «Io volevo passare sotto silenzio questo [falso insegnamento], affinché il male si esaurisse nei soli capi dell'apostasia e non si espandesse in altri luoghi, deturpando le orecchie dei semplici» (*Henòs sômatos* 4). (2) La fermezza con cui Alessandro, riconosciuta la pericolosità dell'errore ariano, lo denuncia chiamandolo senza mezzi termini "apostasia dalla fede", "eresia", e dichiarando i suoi fautori "antichristi", "ripudiati dalla Chiesa e scomunicati" (*Henòs sômatos* 16). (3) Non è mai questione in questa lettera del termine *homoousios*.

Il documento successivo è la *Lettera di Ario ad Eusebio di Nicomedia*,

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[3] Questi concetti sono ripetuti a p. 74.

[4] È quello presente in Atanasio, *Lettera ai vescovi di Egitto e Libia* 12, citato a p. 25, linee 1-6 (ma senza virgolette). Cf. p. 74, nota 118.

scritta «dopo il sinodo che ha condannato Ario e i suoi seguaci e li ha esclusi dalla Chiesa» (p. 51), ma prima che Ario lasciasse Alessandria. Pietras traccia anzitutto un breve profilo biografico di questo Eusebio, famoso per aver cambiato tre volte la sede episcopale (prima Beirut, poi Nicomedia e infine Costantinopoli). Volendo stabilire alcune date, Pietras concorda con Bardy nel porre l'inizio della controversia ariana (e cioè del sinodo che ha scomunicato Ario) non prima del 323, e quindi nel datare questa lettera di Ario poco prima del 324 (p. 52), ma anteriormente alla lettera di Alessandro *Henòs sômatos* (p. 54). Quanto al contenuto della lettera, Pietras osserva che Ario, riportando in sintesi la predicazione di Alessandro, la deforma alquanto, come se fosse di tendenza monarchiana (p. 56). Qui Pietras fa un'osservazione interessante: fermo nella sua concezione filosofica che ogni causalità implichi una precedenza temporale, cosa che è impossibile in Dio, Ario «invece di modificare il suo proprio assunto, preferisce modificare la Trinità» (p. 56).

Il § 4 della lettera di Ario pone dei problemi di critica testuale. Opitz, accettando l'integrazione di Holl, legge: «Il Figlio [...] è venuto all'esistenza per volontà e decisione del Padre, prima dei tempi e dei secoli, *pieno <di grazia e di verità>, Dio, Unigenito*, invariato»[5]. Giustamente Pietras non accetta questa correzione, ma legge senza virgole: «*pieno Dio Unigenito*», che è il nome proprio del Figlio (p. 60)[6].

Di Eusebio di Nicomedia ci resta una *Lettera a Paolino di Tiro*, uno dei sostenitori di Ario (lettera riportata alle pp. 64-68)[7]. Il contenuto rivela chiaramente una dottrina ariana. In particolare, Eusebio afferma che il Figlio «non è della natura (*ek tês ousias*) del Padre» e che è «altro» (*heteros*) dalla natura del Padre (§ 3); cita poi Prov 8, 22-25 per dire che il Figlio è «creato e fondato» (§4). Inoltre afferma che si può dire che il Figlio è «da Dio», ma solo nel senso che tutte le cose sono «da Dio» (§ 8). Pietras poi osserva che l'Alessandro menzionato alla fine della lettera non può essere il vescovo di Alessandria, ma deve essere quello di Costantinopoli (p. 68).

La *Lettera di Alessandro di Alessandria ad Alessandro di Costantinopoli* è senz'altro il più lungo e il più importante di questi primi documenti (pp. 68-

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[5] H. G. Opitz, *Athanasius Werke*, 3/1. *Urkunde zur Geschichte des arianischen Streites (318-328)*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin – Leipzig 1934, p. 3.

[6] L'antica versione latina legge parimenti «*plenus deus unigenitus*» (Opitz, *Urkunde*, p. 3). È probabile che l'aggettivo *plērēs* riferito a Dio sia una reminiscenza di Is 1, 11, secondo una lettura che spesso veniva data e che poneva il punto dopo *plērēs eimí* (*plenus sum*) (cf. E. Cattaneo, *Il* Commento a Isaia *di Basilio di Cesarea. Attribuzione e studio teologico-letterario*, SEA 139, Augustinianum, Roma 2014, pp. 249-251). Quindi «Dio pieno» si può dire solo del Padre, mentre il Figlio può essere detto «pieno Dio Unigenito», e quindi deve essere questa la lezione da preferire. «Dio Unigenito» è un titolo presente nella *Thalia* (p. 35).

[7] A p. 64, linea 8 per una svista è scappato un «Paolino di Nola»!

99). Benché indirizzata espressamente a un solo vescovo, essa è di fatto una lettera circolare, per mettere in guardia tutti i vescovi della regione contro le manovre di Ario. Secondo Pietras, Alessandro sarebbe tendenzioso nel presentare la dottrina di Ario, il quale, pur affermando che il Figlio è creatura, aveva sempre detto che non lo è come le altre creature (p. 76). I §§ 12-14 riportano i principali testi biblici addotti da Ario in appoggio della sua tesi: Is 1, 2 (a sostegno che anche gli uomini possono essere detti "figli" di Dio) e il Sal 44, 8 (a sostegno che anche il Figlio, teoricamente, poteva scegliere il male). Pietras nota che non è citato Prov 8, 22-24 (p. 77). Nei §§ 15-18 Alessandro contrappone i testi biblici che smentiscono la tesi di Ario, e cioè Gv 1, 18 e Gv 1, 1-3. Pietras nota che compaiono a questo punto due termini importanti: quello di *hypostasis*, «termine che è identico a *ousia* e denota la natura del Figlio» (p. 79); e quello di *diastēma* (intervallo), nel senso che «non c'è nessun intervallo tra il Padre e il Figlio» (§ 18), il che implica l'eternità del Figlio, negata da Ario[8]. La questione del *diastēma* è ripresa ai §§ 22-23 (la traduzione inglese del § 22 non mi sembra corretta). A p. 83 il commento di Pietras lascia un po' perplessi: egli sembra difendere la posizione di Ario, anche con un richiamo a un testo di Giustino, e fa dire ad Alessandro quello che in realtà non ha mai detto, e cioè che «il Figlio è venuto all'essere dopo le altre cose, incluso il tempo» (ivi). Alessandro in effetti quando parla del tempo, afferma che è assurdo dire di colui che ha creato il tempo, che «c'era un tempo in cui non esisteva» (anche qui la traduzione finale del § 23 non mi pare corretta: qui il *tinos* si riferisce proprio al tempo, non ad «any created thing»). Al § 31 compare un tema che di solito sfugge ai commentatori, ma che, a mio avviso, è determinante per la fede della Chiesa, ed è il tema dell'adorazione. Scrive Alessandro: «Ed è per questo che il nostro Signore, che è Figlio del Padre per natura, è adorato da tutti» (p. 86). Già il vescovo alessandrino vi aveva fatto cenno al § 6, dicendo che «la Chiesa adora la divinità di Cristo». Questo tema sarà sviluppato da Atanasio nella sua *Lettera ad Adelfio*[9].

Al § 38 Alessando ricorre ad un'espressione singolare, spiegando che quando Cristo dice «Io e il Padre siamo uno» (Gv 10, 30), lo fa «non per chiamare se stesso Padre, né per indicare che le nature, due per ipostasi (*tēi hypostasei*), sono una (*mian*)». Purtroppo la traduzione inglese di questo passo tralascia proprio il termine *hypostasei* (p. 90). Comunque è interessante notare come Alessandro non esiti a utilizzare *hypostasis* in riferimen-

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[8] Il termine *diastēma* ricomparirà nella polemica di Basilio contro Eunomio verso gli anni 360. Cf. Basilio di Cesarea, *Contro Eunomio* II, 12: «Il Padre è senza principio, e il principio del Figlio è il Padre, e tra loro non c'è nulla [...], nessun intervallo (*diastēmati*)» (SC 305, p. 46).

[9] Cf. E. Cattaneo, « L'adoration du Christ chez Athanase d'Alexandrie », in M.-A. Vannier (ed.), *La christologie et la Trinité chez les Pères*, Cerf, Paris 2013, pp. 63-88.

to al Padre e al Figlio (cf. §§ 16, 19, 29, 38, 46), anche se, come osservato da Pietras, non sembra distinguerlo bene dal concetto di *physis*.

Per contrastare l'alternativa posta da Ario (o pensare che il Figlio è stato creato dal nulla o dire che esistono due ingenerati), Alessandro introduce un *tertium quid*, e cioè che il Figlio non è né ingenerato né fatto dal nulla, ma generato dal Padre (§ 45). Bisogna riconoscere che qui Alessandro, parlando di «natura intermedia» (*mesiteuousa physis*), usa un'espressione poco felice, ma essa non è da intendere come se il Figlio fosse a metà strada tra Dio e le cose create. In che cosa consista poi questa generazione divina del Figlio, per Alessandro rimane un mistero imperscrutabile; si può dire solo, in modo negativo, che essa non è «come quello che avviene tra i corpi per scissione o per emanazione, che comporta divisione» (§ 46). Più volte egli afferma che la nostra mente deve fermarsi davanti al mistero della generazione del Figlio, ma senza allontanarsi dalla fede, e cita a sostegno il passo di Is 53, 8: «Chi spiegherà la sua generazione?»[10].

In definitiva, afferma Pietras, «Alexander's letter is most likely the most comprehensive exposition of the theology in defence of Christ's divinity against the teachings of Arius» (p. 99). Tuttavia l'argomentazione di Alessandro «lacks the accuracy which would be attained only in the course of the years» (ivi). Sembrerebbe poi, secondo Pietras, che il vescovo di Alessandria sapesse già della convocazione del concilio, e che con questa sua lettera cercasse dei «supporters before a synodal debate which was likely to take place at Nicea» (ivi). Noi torneremo più avanti su questo importante documento.

Segue testo, traduzione e commento della *Lettera dell'imperatore Costantino ad Alessandro e Ario*, che è stata riportata da Eusebio di Cesarea nella sua *Vita di Costantino* II, 64-72[11]. È l'unico documento databile con certezza, e cioè dopo il 20 settembre del 324 (p. 101). La cronologia degli avvenimenti risulta dunque essere questa: il 18 settembre 324 ci fu la sconfitta definitiva di Licinio, e Costantino fece l'ingresso a Nicomedia, dove era vescovo Eusebio. L'imperatore venne informato dei dissensi scoppiati ad Alessandria tra il vescovo e il prete Ario. In qualità di *Pontifex Maximus* Costantino intese intervenire, e scrisse una lettera per riportare la pace. La lettera venne portata ad Alessandria dal vescovo Ossio di Cordo-

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[10] Già Giustino (1 *Apol.* 51, 1) aveva citato Is 53, 8 per dire che il Figlio ha «una origine ineffabile» (SC 507, p. 261 e nota 1). Lo stesso farà Ireneo, parlando di una «generazione inesplicabile» (*Adv. haer.* 4, 33, 11) e di una «origine ineffabile e indescrivibile» (*Demonstratio* 70).

[11] Cf. Eusèbe de Césarée, *Vie de Constantin*. Texte critique F. WINKELMANN (GCS), introduction et notes par L. Pietri, traduction de M.-J. Rondeau, SC 559, Cerf, Paris 2013, pp. 334-347.

va, amico e consigliere dell'imperatore[12]. Ossio avrebbe preso parte anche al sinodo alessandrino che scomunicò Ario (autunno 324) e al successivo sinodo di Antiochia nella primavera del 325 (p. 103). Dalla lettera si evince che Costantino non aveva colto per nulla l'importanza della questione ariana, giudicata una inutile disputa di parole da regolarsi con un po' di buona volontà da entrambe le parti. L'allusione di Costantino all'origine della disputa «in un certo passo della Legge» (*Vita*, II, 69, 1) è molto vaga, ma alcuni commentatori, iniziando da Simonetti, vi vedono un'allusione a Prov 8, 22-25. Pietras lo esclude, perché, secondo lui, l'oggetto della disputa non era direttamente la divinità della Sapienza, ma l'obbedienza di Cristo, che comportava la mutabilità del Logos (pp. 113-114). Tuttavia Costantino parla di un passo «della Legge», e quindi dell'Antico Testamento, non facendo nessun riferimento al Nuovo. Sarebbe strano che, avendo dei consiglieri esperti come Ossio ed Eusebio — ai quali certamente avrà fatto vedere il testo —, egli si sia riferito alla «Legge» in modo improprio. Del resto, proprio Eusebio nella sua lettera a Paolino di Tiro aveva citato come testo fondamentale Prov 8, 22-25 (cf. p. 66). Bisognerebbe supporre, come fa Pietras, che Ossio ed Eusebio non fossero a conoscenza del contenuto della lettera, altrimenti, a meno di una dissimulazione diplomatica, non avrebbero consentito a giudicare la disputa «un contenzioso su piccole e insignificanti questioni» (pp. 117-119). Costantino da una parte minimizza la disputa, considerandola irrilevante, come un semplice dissenso tra filosofi di una medesima scuola; perciò dice che i due contendenti possono pure tenersi le loro rispettive idee, purché smettano di scontrarsi, mettendo così in subbuglio il popolo. D'altra parte però egli si mostra «estremamente preoccupato» della cosa (II, 72, 2). È difficile a questo punto distinguere tra le esagerazioni retoriche e i veri sentimenti dell'imperatore. Egli aveva progettato di passare dall'Egitto per recarsi poi a Roma e ricevere il riconoscimento ufficiale della sua vittoria, celebrando anche il ventennale della sua acclamazione (era lo stesso percorso fatto da Vespasiano nel 70). Tuttavia le notizie giunte da Alessandria, unite a quella dei disordini scoppiati nella Tebaide ad opera di Melizio, gli fecero mutare programma[13].

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[12] Eusebio non fa il nome del latore della lettera, ma lo descrive come «un uomo che l'imperatore conosceva bene per la sua prudenza e la sua fedeltà provata e che si era distinto confessando la fede nei tempi precedenti» (*Vita* II, 63). Secondo Warmington, il latore sarebbe invece un laico di nome Mariano, un *notarius* di corte, ma Pietras scarta questa ipotesi (p. 104). Del resto, le lettere ai vescovi erano portate da ecclesiastici, non da laici.

[13] La traduzione inglese del § 72, 2 (p. 123) fa dire a Costantino: «I was hastening toward you, *and had already accomplished the greater part of the distance*», cioè si era già messo in viaggio e aveva compiuto buona parte del percorso. Invece la traduzione italiana di L. Tartaglia (Napoli 1984, p. 118) dice: «Già mi apprestavo a venire tra di voi e *già la più parte di me era in mezzo a voi*». Similmente la versione francese: « Je me hâtais déjà vers vous et *la meilleure*

In questo contesto, secondo Pietras, appare inverosimile che Costantino abbia pensato di convocare un concilio per risolvere la disputa ariana[14]. Secondo Eusebio (*Vita* III, 4-6), ciò che indusse Costantino a convocare «un sinodo ecumenico», cioè generale di tutti i vescovi, furono i disordini nelle chiese della Tebaide, il dissenso sulla data della Pasqua e il fallimento della missione inviata ad Alessandria. Pietras a questo punto fa un calcolo dei tempi, e gli sembra impossibile che questa decisione possa essere stata presa nell'inverno del 324-25, e quindi bisogna supporre che l'idea di un concilio generale fosse già stata pensata prima, indipendentemente dalla crisi ariana. Questo è l'argomento del cap. IV.

Come si sia arrivati al concilio di Nicea nel 325 è infatti una delle questioni più discusse tra gli storici. Appare qui la sostanziale tesi di Pietras: la polemica ariana non fu che una delle tante questioni discusse a Nicea e neanche la principale, al punto che si può sostenere la tesi «that Arianism had nothing to do with the convocation of a general council first to Ancyra, then to Niceaea» (p. 145). È vero che i canoni promulgati a Nicea testimoniano che molte furono le questioni trattate (Pietras presenta e commenta tutti i 20 canoni nel c. V), e tra queste ci fu l'unificazione della data della Pasqua, da celebrarsi la domenica, ma è curioso che proprio di ciò non si dica nulla nei canoni. Costantino allora avrebbe convocato tutti i vescovi anzitutto per celebrare i *vicennalia* del suo regno (iniziato nel 306) e poi per trattare alcune questioni disciplinari all'interno della Chiesa. Dato il ruolo che egli si attribuiva come *Pontifex Maximus* e come *episkopos tôn ektòs*, (e che per noi oggi è difficilmente immaginabile), l'idea di un "concilio ecumenico" appare consona al suo ideale di unificazione dell'Impero, e anche l'idea di emanare un *credo* valido per tutta la cristianità potrebbe essere, secondo Pietras, anch'essa un'idea di Costantino (p. 137), sempre preoccupato della pace e della concordia tra i suoi sudditi. Ma perché in un primo tempo era stata scelta Ancyra? Non si sa. Sulla data del concilio di Nicea, le opinioni divergono. Secondo Pietras il 20 maggio sarebbe stata una data troppo stretta per permettere ai vescovi delle sedi più lontane di arrivare in tempo, tenuto conto che la navigazione riprendeva ad aprile. Così la data più probabile è il 19 giugno, mentre il 25 luglio sarebbe la data di chiusura (p. 148)[15]. Pietras da molto credito all'esposizione fatta da Eusebio nella sua *Vita di Costantino*, così come alla lettera mandata alla sua diocesi (di

partie de moi-même était avec vous » (corsivi miei). Credo che queste due ultime traduzioni siano più corrette.

[14] «It seems implausible that he had ever intended to convoke a general assembly of the bishops in order to resolve it» (p. 119).

[15] Il *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, a cura di G. Alberigo e altri, pone l'inizio del concilio il 19 luglio (p. 2).

cui nel c. VI), in quanto sono le testimonianze più vicine all'evento e, se fossero state tendenziose, avrebbero potuto facilmente essere smentite.

Nel frattempo, e cioè nella primavera del 325, ebbe luogo un sinodo ad Antiochia, a cui parteciparono cinquantanove vescovi delle regioni vicine. Si trattava anzitutto di eleggere il nuovo vescovo della città, ma il sinodo trattò principalmente della questione ariana, emanando un *credo* decisamente anti-ariano, corredato da anatematismi e dalla condanna di tre vescovi che non vollero sottoscriverlo: Teodoto di Laodicea, Narcisso di Neroniade ed Eusebio di Cesarea di Palestina. Giustamente Pietras fa notare che la questione di fondo fu sostanzialmente cristologica e non esclusivamente "trinitaria" (pp. 140-141). Pare però che questo documento (conservato solo in una versione siriaca) non abbia avuto nessun effetto pratico (cf. p. 145). Certamente però questo sinodo «makes things somewhat more complicated» (p. 135).

Mentre fino a questo punto del suo libro Pietras aveva presentato i documenti in ordine (supposto) cronologico, da qui in avanti egli segue invece un altro criterio, esponendo prima i canoni di Nicea (c. V), poi la *Lettera* di Eusebio di Cesarea ai fedeli della sua diocesi (c. VI) e infine il *Credo* dei 318 Padri (c. VII). Nel c. VIII sono esposti tre documenti post-sinodali, sui quali ritorneremo.

Pietras giustifica l'anticipazione dell'esposizione dei canoni perché gli sembra «that the bishops presents at Nicaea held them to have been even more important that the *credo* itself» (p. 153). Inoltre, dal punto di vista della recezione, «the canons definitely precede the creed» (ivi). Queste due affermazioni sembrano contestabili. Eusebio non parla dei canoni né nella sua lettera post-sinodale, né nella *Vita*. Costantino, nella sua lettera post-sinodale a tutte le Chiese, nomina solo la decisione sul giorno della Pasqua, come se fosse stato l'unico argomento trattato dal concilio (*Vita* III, 17-19). È strano che quei canoni non comprendano proprio la questione della Pasqua e dei Meliziani d'Egitto, due delle principali ragioni per la convocazione del concilio. Ci si chiede poi come i 250 vescovi abbiano potuto discutere in breve tempo argomenti così disparati come quelli presenti nei 20 canoni. Non si potrebbe forse ipotizzare che essi siano stati redatti da una commissione più ristretta e approvati in quella che viene chiamata la "seconda sessione" del concilio di Nicea, avvenuta un paio di anni dopo? Ma Pietras nega decisamente l'esistenza di una tale sessione (p. 152).

Non ci sembra il caso di entrare in merito ai singoli canoni, il cui testo (solo in inglese) è riportato e spiegato diffusamente da Pietras (pp. 154-178). Passiamo invece alla *Lettera* che Eusebio di Cesarea scrisse ai fedeli della sua diocesi poco dopo la fine del concilio. Questa lettera è riportata da

Atanasio in appendice al suo *De decretis Nicaenae Synodi*[16]. In essa Eusebio fornisce la sua versione dei fatti, giudicata da Pietras attendibile, benché reticente su molti punti. Eusebio infatti dice di aver letto, alla presenza dell'imperatore, la sua professione di fede, ma non dice il perché. Secondo alcuni storici, e Pietras è d'accordo, Eusebio doveva discolparsi dall'accusa di eresia portata contro di lui dal sinodo di Antiochia svoltosi nella primavera precedente (p. 181). Pietras ritiene che il credo proclamato da Eusebio non fosse quello in uso nella sua chiesa, ma un «artificially prepared text» (p. 182). È vero che fino allora non esistevano dei *credo* ufficiali, tuttavia quelli esistenti provenivano da un contesto battesimale e seguivano tutti un medesimo canovaccio, con qualche espressione più o meno dettagliata, soprattutto nella parte cristologica. Eusebio si sarà preoccupato di scegliere con attenzione le parole. Il suo testo fu approvato dall'imperatore, il quale suggerì solo di aggiungere nella parte cristologica la parola *homoousios*, spiegandone lui stesso il significato (§ 7). Pietras tocca qui la dibattuta questione di chi abbia suggerito all'imperatore l'inserimento di quel termine (pp. 182-183). In conclusione, sembra che l'idea sia stata di Costantino stesso, il quale, volendo proporre una formula di fede unitaria per tutta la Chiesa, trovò adatto quel termine e lo impose, a dire il vero piuttosto ingenuamente, essendo egli l'unico, tra quelli presenti al Concilio, «who was unaware of the past heretical connotations of the term» (p. 228). Questo fatto spiegherebbe come mai Atanasio solo dopo venticinque anni si sia deciso a difendere il termine *homoousios*, dando la sua versione del Concilio con il *De decretis*, dove per altro non c'è nessuna menzione della Pasqua, dei canoni o di altre questioni, ma è solo concentrato sul *credo*.

È a questo punto che Pietras incomincia a parlare di "mito" e di "leggenda". Che a Nicea «the "orthodox" defended the consubstantiality and "Arians" opposed it», questo sarebbe un "myth" «projecting upon the Council of Nicaea the views that were to emerge in the Church only about 30 years after, and later on» (p. 184). Dietro la spinta di questa tesi, Pietras considera la *Lettera del Concilio di Nicea agli Egiziani* (pp. 209-215) e la *Lettera di Costantino alla Chiesa di Alessandria* (pp. 205-209) come dei documenti falsi, elaborati dopo la morte di Atanasio, al tempo dell'episcopato di Pietro (quindi tra il 373 e il 380). Invece la *Lettera di Costantino a tutte le Chiese*, riportata da Eusebio (*Vita* III, 17-19) sarebbe autentica (pp. 215-220). Diciamo subito che sono questioni assai complesse e che molti elementi riguardanti queste lettere ci sfuggono. È un fatto che le tre lettere toccano argomenti diversi. La prima (*Lettera del Concilio agli Egiziani*) riporta la condanna di Ario, ma poi verte essenzialmente su come regolare la questio-

[16] Mi permetto di rimandare alla mia traduzione: *Atanasio, Il credo di Nicea*, Città Nuova, Roma 2001, pp. 126-132.

ne dei seguaci di Melizio. La seconda (di *Costantino alla Chiesa di Alessandria*) tratta esclusivamente della fede ristabilita a Nicea contro Ario. Infine, la *Lettera di Costantino a tutte le Chiese* parla come se l'unica questione trattata a Nicea fosse quella della data di Pasqua. Dato per scontato che solo quest'ultima sia autentica, Pietras conclude che le prime due lettere «are therefore more a testimony to the situation in the Church of Alexandria in the latter half of the 370s rather than to the period immediately after the Council of Nicaea. In my opinion, the myth of the anti-Arian Council of Nicaea had originated from those two letters, in the light of which Athanasius's writings would be subsequently construed and represented» (pp. 228-229). Di conseguenza, anche la presentazione di Atanasio come intrepido difensore del credo di Nicea è un "mito" (ivi). In conclusione, «the importance of the general synod of Nicaea — the First Ecumenical Council — as a great action undertaken by the Church in defence of the divinity of Christ appears to be, therefore a mythical event, like, for instance, the Deluge or the crossing of the Red Sea. It is one of the founding myths of the Church» (p. 229).

Come mia conclusione, devo dire che questo libro non va senz'altro messo da parte come troppo ardito, benché la pretesa di andare contro una interpretazione protrattasi per più di 1500 anni (p. 227) possa sembrare eccessiva. In realtà questo lavoro pone tanti interrogativi e offre tanti spunti interessanti, che toccherà agli specialisti discutere. Tra le cose notevoli, trovo importante l'accentuazione sull'aspetto cristologico nella questione ariana, e cioè sull'obbedienza meritoria di Cristo, e quindi sulla sua "mutabilità" (almeno teorica), da cui segue l'aspetto trinitario.

Bisogna poi riconoscere che il credo di Nicea non subito si è imposto, anzi è avvenuto tutto il contrario. Tuttavia, nei numerosi simboli elaborati dai vari sinodi dopo il 325, se è vero che Nicea non viene mai nominata, è chiaro che l'intento era quello di scalzare la fede là formulata. Del resto, l'importanza di un avvenimento come un concilio ecumenico non è detto che venga colta subito, ma può diventare evidente solo con l'andare del tempo. Probabilmente né Costantino né i vescovi presenti a Nicea furono consapevoli della portata di quell'evento, e da qui deriva anche la disparità delle relazioni da loro fatte.

Quanto ad Atanasio, se è vero che solo verso il 350 egli ha cominciato a difendere il credo di Nicea, ciò non significa che fino a quella data sia stato in silenzio. La sua opposizione all'arianesimo è stata netta fin dall'inizio, e ciò è testimoniato dai tre *Discorsi contro gli ariani*, databili senza dubbio a prima del 350[17]. Infatti, sebbene il termine *homoousios* applicato al Figlio

[17] È singolare che Pietras nel suo studio non li nomini mai.

compaia in questi discorsi solo una sola volta e senza riferimento a Nicea[18], tuttavia Atanasio è il primo che ne ha dato implicitamente la definizione più corretta, dove l'uguaglianza di natura tra il Padre e il Figlio è spiegata non ricorrendo a immagini del mondo materiale (che pure egli usa), ma unicamente basandosi sull'identità dei predicati, e cioè che «le stesse cose che sono dette del Padre sono dette anche del Figlio, eccetto il nome di Padre»[19]. Di conseguenza, se il Padre è eterno, anche il Figlio sarà eterno, e se il Padre è onnipotente, anche il Figlio sarà onnipotente, e così via, dato che il Figlio condivide tutto quello che ha il Padre, eccetto il nome di Padre. Forse neppure Atanasio amava molto il termine *homoousios*, ma quando ha capito che era l'unico modo per mettere gli ariani con le spalle al muro, lo ha difeso a spada tratta. La sua decisione di combattere l'arianesimo, l'aveva appresa certamente dal suo predecessore Alessandro, il quale, come abbiamo visto, se all'inizio fu cauto nei confronti di Ario, quando si rese conto della posta in gioco, intervenne con estrema decisione. In effetti, come ha detto bene Enzo Bellini, quella questione non era una capziosa disputa di parole (come la pensava Costantino), ma metteva in conflitto «due modi di concepire Dio e il cristianesimo»[20]. Ario voleva salvaguardare l'unicità di Dio, monade incomunicabile; perciò il Figlio era semplicemente la prima e la più perfetta delle creature, era Dio per partecipazione, non per natura. Ma così il titolo di Figlio di Dio non era sostanzialmente diverso da quello dato ai battezzati, che anch'essi diventano "figli di Dio". Se dunque Cristo è anche lui un Figlio per adozione, non può comunicarci la vita divina, poiché anche lui ha meritato di riceverla dal Padre. In tale prospettiva, «Cristo salva il genere umano in quanto gli offre un perfetto modello di vita e gli rivela la vera filosofia, la verità capace di soddisfare tutti e, dunque, di unificare il genere umano»[21]. Per Alessandro e Atanasio invece, «il centro di interesse è salvare la grandezza della speranza cristiana, annunciata nel battesimo, per cui gli uomini diventano figli di Dio. Questo avvenimento, operato da Cristo nel battesimo, è una nuova creazione, una rigenerazione che presuppone in Cristo una potenza divina in senso proprio»[22].

Che questo punto basilare abbia finito per mettere in secondo piano tutte le altre questioni trattate a Nicea, molte delle quali erano solo disciplinari, ciò non significa che sia stato creato artificialmente un "mito" di quel

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[18] Atanasio, *Contra Ar.* I, 9 (PG 26, 29A): «Perciò [il Figlio] è vero Dio, essendo consostanziale al vero Padre».

[19] *Contra Ar.* III, 4 (PG 26, 329A). È merito di B. Lonergan avere evidenziato questo apporto di Atanasio (cf. *La Trinità/1. Parte dogmatica: lo sviluppo dottrinale* [Opere di Bernard Lonergan, 11], Città Nuova, Roma 2014, p. 110.

[20] Bellini, *Un esempio di conflitto tra fede e ideologia*, cit., p. 12.

[21] Ivi.

[22] Ivi.

concilio, ma che si è riconosciuto, anche se gradualmente, che esso aveva toccato un punto nevralgico della fede cristiana[23].

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[23] Qualche osservazione sulla parte redazionale, che poteva essere fatta meglio. Ad esempio, molti testi sono riprodotti con lo stesso corpo del carattere normale e senza virgolette, così che non si distinguono dal commento (cf. pp. 81, 83, 138-144, 149, 154-178). Più volte è scritto «Pope Damasius» invece di «Damasus» (pp. 224-225).

Samuel Moawad

Addenda zur *Vita Dioscori*, PO 246 (56.1)

In meiner Einleitung zur Edition der arabischen *Vita Dioscori* wird im letzten Absatz auf Seite 7 unter Nr. 3 ein bohairisches Fragment erwähnt, dessen Inhalt mit der *Vita Dioscori* zu tun hat[1]. Es wird dort festgestellt, dass der bohairische Text mit keiner Version der *Vita* übereinstimmt. Erst nachdem die Arbeit an den Verlag geschickt worden war, stieß ich auf einen Aufsatz von Enzo Lucchesi, in dem er dieses bohairische Fragment identifizieren konnte. Leider war die Arbeit bereits im Druck und konnte nicht mehr korrigiert werden. Hier gebe ich den betreffenden Absatz in seiner korrigierten Form wieder (die Fußnote 22 meiner Einleitung bleibt unverändert).

> 3. Das bohairische Fragment, das Hatch im Jahr 1923 entdeckte und zweimal als Teil der *Vita Dioscori* publizierte,[22] gehört eigentlich zu einem liturgischen Stück, wie E. Lucchesi, D'une vie de Dioscore à une hymne en l'honneur de Dioscore, in *Analecta Bollandiana* 128 (2010), 61-65, zeigte. Das Fragment ergänzt den Text eines Difnars, das von De Lacy O'Leary, *The Difnar (Antiphonarium) of the Coptic Church (first four months)*, London, 1926, 101-102, frag. III, bereits publiziert wurde.

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[1] *Die arabische Version der* Vita Dioscori. Edition und Übersetzung von Samuel Moawad, PO 246 (56.1), Turnhout 2016.

FEDALTO, Giorgio, *Le Chiese d'Oriente. Sintesi storica*, Casa Editrice Mazziana, Verona 2016, pp. 195.

In his long career as teacher and researcher at the University of Padua and elsewhere, the author, Prof. Giorgio Fedalto, has provided us with an array of books, of which the three volumes *Le Chiese d'Oriente* (vols. I-III, Milan 2010-2012[2]) immediately catch the eye of the expert. Indeed, they were published as a continuation and complement to Hubert Jedin's *History of the Church*, as one gathers from E. Guerriero's Preface to the first volume. The present work attempts a brief but viable synthesis of so much toil and insight; here we choose some points as a path through the huge amassment of knowledge.

In order to insert the Churches of the East into the whole movement of religions, the author goes way back to primitive times when the human groping for the transcendental often took the form of polytheism. Critically, however, one should not forget that polytheism can go along with the worship of one god (*monolatria*), without stopping to believe in many gods. Fedalto, however, sees the rise of the Eastern Churches precisely in the passage from polytheism to *Christian* monotheism. With Indo-Europeans in Iran, Zoroastrianism achieved the status of a monotheistic religion (p. 15); and in the Mediterranian area, with Abraham, God began his special revelation to humanity (p. 19). Following Christ's injunction to the Apostles to go to the end of the world, they and their disciplines had to pass through Palestine, Syria and Europe. As these areas belonged to the Roman Empire or were situated on its fringes, the Churches which originated here came to be known as the Churches of the Eastern Empire (p. 23).

We first come across the *pentarchy*, or the rule of the five patriarchates, seen as already functioning in Justinian I's *Novellae* (p. 29). Long before Emperor Leo III, in 732, switched the Eastern Illyricum from under the pope's jurisdiction to that of the Patriarch of Constantinople, Theodosius II had already ascribed Dacia and Greece, that is a huge chunk of the Balkans, to the already enormous Prefecture of the East (p. 29). St Thomas the Apostle's mission to India is attested to by an impressive number of Eastern and Western Fathers (p. 32). Important for Byzantine ecclesiology is the fact that the emperor is considered to be the vicar of Christ, responsible to promote the kingdom of God, though in a way quite different from that of the bishops or even the patriarch's (p. 44). To dismiss the Melkite Churches as the emperor's creation just because the name "Melkite" means "imperial", is not warranted, since these Churches had fully endorsed the preceding ecumenical councils as expression of their faith (p. 46). Monasticism, especially before the advance of Islam, sheds much light on the development of the non-Chalcedonian Churches, now known as "Oriental Orthodox" (pp. 46-47). Islam was a movement of protest against Byzantine rule, with Damascus falling into Muslim hands in 636, Ctesiphon in 637, Jerusalem in c. 638, Carthage in 698 and Spain in 711, but the Muslims were beaten at Poitiers, in Gaul, in 732 (p. 56). While the Melkite patri-

archs could not return to their see, the Coptic patriarch Benjamin, enthroned in 644, fared better and returned from exile to Alexandria (p. 60). The Maronites are described as anti-monophysite Chalcedonians (p. 61). One of the most outstanding figures of the Church of the East, with headquarters in Seleucia-Ctesiphon, is Abdisho Bar-Brika (d. 1318), the encyclopedist and canonist (p. 63). One has to keep in mind the Abbasid dynasty, with centre in Baghdad, therefore quite close to Seleucia-Ctesiphon, which replaced the Damascus-based Umayyad dynasty and ruled from 750 to 1258 (pp. 63-64). Timothy I (780-823) was one of the most famous patriarchs of the Church of the East, in whose reign as catholicos members of his Church produced translations from Greek to Arabic through Syriac (p. 64). This Church extended her sphere of influence to China, where the Xian-Fu Stone going back to the 8th century is still erect (p. 69), and Marco Polo during his stay in China in the years 1271-1295 discovered Christians there (p. 71).

With the crowning of Charlemagne in 800 was shattered the ideal of a sole Christian empire in East and West. In the Middle Ages, the West became more and more homogeneous, in contradistinction to the Christian East, which remained a motley of Churches and rites (p. 80). Among the disorders of the Fourth Crusades (p. 87), Tommaso Morosini, later Latin Patriarch of Constantinople after the conquest of Constantinople in 1204, had to swear before he left Venice to choose only bishops and canons of Venetian provenance (p. 93). Corfu and Cephalonia were Venetian possessions until 1797 (p. 95). The Franciscans and the Dominicans were present in the East in various ways (p. 97), but no reference is made in this connection to the interesting phenomenon of the *Fratres Perigrinantes* and the *Fratres Unitores* (p. 97). Tamerlane was not a Mongol, but a Turk. The Mongols themselves, also known as Tartars, and the Chinese were quite open-minded when it came to religion, in sharp contrast to Islam, wholeheartedly opposed to any Christian settlements or Latin dioceses. In 1307 Clement V nominated Fra Giovanni da Montecorvino archbishop of Cambalec, Beijing (p. 100). In 1440, an Italian merchant discovered a thousand Nestorian Christians in Mylapore, India, where the tomb of St. Thomas was reputed to have been, a few decades before Vasco da Gama landed on the shores of Malabar (p. 102).

With the re-conquest of Constantinople in 1261, the slow decline of the empire became increasingly manifest. About 700 Greeks arrived at Ferrara in 1438 for the beginning of the council of Ferrara-Florence (pp. 103-104). The Union reached at Florence on 6 July 1439, though signed by all except one, Mark Eugenicus, did not enjoy the broad support of the base and was soon rescinded by many of its signatories, Isidore of Kiev and Bessarion of Ephesus being notable exceptions (p. 104). The reception among the non-Byzantine Eastern Churches differed, but for the Maronites it was simpler, because they were already in union with Rome, even if the Mameluke governor, fearing a new crusade, unleashed a persecution against them. (It was different with the Maronites and Chaldeans in Cyprus, where Andrew of Rhodes managed to persuade both communities to accept the terms of the Florentine council; cf. J. Gill, *The Council of Florence*, Cambridge 1959, pp. 336-337). At any rate the council offered an occasion for Orthodox and Cath-

olics to get to know one another at close quarters. Divisions among Christians paved the way for the Turkish military takeover of Constantinople in 1453 (p. 105). The victor, Mehmet II, continued with his conquests until death in 1481 checked his ambitions (pp. 106-107). With Pius II's death in 1464 the tradition of a Europe held together by the pope and thus able to defend itself came to an end (p. 107). France soon moved in to counterbalance the Habsburgs by striking an alliance of sorts with the Turks (p. 107), so that the Ottomans under Suleiman I (d. 1566), with whom the Ottoman Empire reached its apogee, became an unavoidable interlocutor on European affairs (pp. 107-108). The millet system raises questions as to whether it compromised the spiritual authority of the patriarch, and whether, while enhancing the authority of the patriarch as a whole, it did not impair that of the other patriarchs, who now factually derived their rights from the patriarch of Constantinople (pp. 109-110).

Macedonia was, as far as Church organization was concerned, more resistant than Anatolia; thus, Thessalonica has retained an unbroken list of bishops right until our times (p. 112). At first, the monasteries, too, resisted, but in the 16th century the number of monks decreased (p. 112). For many Greek savants fleeing from the Ottomans, Venice, Padua and Rome offered a haven of study (p. 112).

In the Slavic world, the Serbian patriarchate of Peć, unilaterally established in 1346, re-established in 1557, suppressed in 1776 and once more revived in 1920, illustrates the alternate vicissitudes of Christians in the Balkans under the Turks (p. 113). Moving eastward, the axis of power first rotated around Kiev and Novgorod, but later shifted to Moscow (p. 115). The Church of Kievan Rus' could retain its independence under the Mongols, or Tatars, because of the latter's tolerance in matters of religion (p. 116). At the end of the fifteenth century, Moscow's territory extended from Karelia to the Ural Mountains (p. 116). The Slavs of Kiev right up to Novgorod and the Volga understood Church Slavonic, also known as Old Bulgarian, and used it for the liturgy, thereby creating a divide between themselves and Byzantium (p. 116). The mission of the Greek brothers Sts. Cyril and Methodius fits well into this framework, its success being gauged by the fact that in a Western world dominated by Latin and the Roman liturgy they introduced a liturgy in Church Slavonic. During their stay in Venice in 866-867 the two brothers were told that one can pray only in the three languages on Christ's cross, Greek, Latin and Hebrew, but they retorted they were aware of many other nations which used their own language for the liturgy (p. 117). In Rome the pope approved the liturgical novelty, but Cyril died there shortly afterwards, on 14 February 869. After Methodius' death on 16 April 886, his legacy was continued by his disciples in Bulgaria (p. 117). The Byzantine rite that entered Russia later on was different from the pure Byzantine and became Slavo-Byzantine through Church Slavonic, thus giving rise to new forms (pp. 118-119). Moscow declared itself independent of Constantinople in 1448, an occurrence which in c. 1510 inspired the monk Philotheus of Pskov to come out with the theory of "Moscow, the third Rome" (p. 118). Moscow drew sustenance on monasticism, of which St. Sergius of Radonež is emblematic (p. 119). In 1589 Patriarch Jeremias II Tranos of Constantinople approved the

patriarchate of Moscow. European rulers called the territory under Moscow's sway Moscovia (p. 119).

The Christians of St. Thomas in South-West India followed their own liturgical practices (pp. 121-122) until the arrival of the Portuguese; initially cordial, the relations between the two groups started deteriorating once the Portuguese put into question the validity of the Malabar liturgy. The real issue was the dependence of the St. Thomas Christians on the Patriarch of Babylon, considered by the Portuguese to be unorthodox (p. 122). Of the five bishops who in this period came from Seleucia, the most important was Mar Jacob, who was on friendly terms with the Franciscans and allowed them free access to the natives' churches, as well as to their seminary, built in 1541 (p. 122). Given Goa's strategic position, the Portuguese raised it to a diocese in 1533, becoming a metropolitan see in 1558. In the meantime, a Catholic, John Sullaqa, had been chosen as patriarch of Babylon and was recognized as such by the pope as Simon VIII of the Chaldeans (p. 124). Other religious orders present in India were the Dominicans, the Augustinians and the Carmelites.

On the Ottoman front, Soleiman the Magnificent died in 1566; yet although the Ottomans were defeated at Lepanto in 1571, Cyprus fell into their hands in 1570-1571 (p. 125). For the next two centuries, until the Treaty of Kutchuk (1774), the Ottoman Empire was still, amid defeats and setbacks, an empire to reckon with (p. 125). Failure to capture Vienna in 1683 had proved fatal for the Ottomans (p. 126). New treaties allowed for greater freedom of entry into Turkey, agreements often inspired by fear of the Turk. The case of Patriarch Cyril Lukaris, strangled by the Janissaries (1638), is no exception (p. 129): from 1453 until the last phase of the War of independence patriarchs and almost a hundred bishops were put to death (pp. 129-130), so that the Orthodox celebrate 172 martyrs for the period going from 1600 to 1867 (p. 130). The legal and religious status of the millet and the corresponding responsibilities of the patriarch and the community he ruled over may provide the key (p. 130).

In the Synod of Brest four Ukrainian bishops decided to abandon their metropolitan and join Rome. Kiev and Moscow stood for two different theological approaches, the South Russian, more open to Catholicism, and the Slavic-Byzantine, more closed, respectively (pp. 130-131). After the death of Patriarch Adrian in 1700, Peter the Great refused to hold another election to choose a patriarch, thus paving the way for the abolishment of the patriarchate (pp. 131-132). In 1764 Catherine II confiscated Church property (p. 132). Yet if Catherine II's record is negative with regards to the Uniates (p. 133), it was she — one may add — who refused to promulgate the bull of 1773 suppressing the Jesuits. Poland was partitioned for the third time in 1795 (p. 133).

The designation Coptic was first used for Christians in an ethnic rather than in a religious sense, but later on, in the 7th century it was applied for those who rejected the Byzantine Church for its acceptance of the council of Chalcedon. In 750 Egypt passed from the Umayyad rule of Damascus to the Abbasid rule in Baghdad (p. 133). Christianity in Nubia survived long in spite of Muslim incursions, but a

part of it, the Christian kingdom of Alodia, lasted until 1504, whereby its Christian faith slowly became extinct under Muslim rule (p. 134). All the more surprising is the fact that Ethiopia, also surrounded by Muslims, has survived as a Christian land until today (p. 135). The West's knowledge of this land was obfuscated by the myth of Prester John (p. 135). The Jesuits sent missionaries to Ethiopia in 1555 (p. 135).

On the other side of the ecclesiastical pendulum, the far-flung Church of the East suffered greatly during the invasions of Tamerlane (p. 136). In the 17th century Jesuits, Capuchins and Carmelites insisted on union with Rome as a pre-condition of further collaboration with the locals (p. 137). In the 18th century the Syrian Catholic Church was almost destroyed when its patriarch was given the title of Patriarch of Antioch (p. 137). Armenians, sometimes called "Gregorian Armenians" after their founder, Gregory the Illuminator, yet only as late 1411 was the Catholicosate of Etchmiadzin, where the primate of the whole Church resides, founded (p. 138). Georgians remained Orthodox, although once annexed by Russia were subordinated to the Russian Church (p. 138). The Maronites of Lebanon remained faithful to Rome in spite of a certain Latinization (p. 138). The Synod of Diamper (1599) pushed latinization for the Saint Thomas Christians in Malabar people to an extreme (pp. 140-141). Clement VIII suppressed the metropolitan status of the St. Thomas Christians, subordinating them to the archbishop of Goa. Diamper was a diocesan rather than a provincial synod, but was subsequently recognized as provincial (p. 141). Mar Abraham was the last metropolitan (1569-1597) sent from the Church of the East (p. 141). The revolt of the Coonan Cross was directed against the Jesuit archbishop, dom Garcia, but the Carmelites, sent to India by Pope Alexander VII, had to leave soon afterwards, in 1663, because of the Dutch conquest (p. 143).

In 1798 France and Turkey broke their traditional peaceful relation, to be resumed only in 1802 (p. 147). The number of metropolitanates etc. in the patriarchate of Constantinople in 1645 and in 1901 is given on p. 148. In 1918 there was an attempt to reconstruct the patriarchate under the Greek government, but to no avail (p. 148). With the movement of Greek independence gathering momentum, the Phanariots lost their influence, and the Sultan disbanded the millet (p. 149). It came to the separation between Greece and the Patriarchate (p. 149), thanks to philethnicism. In 1878, the British took Cyprus, restoring religious freedom but impeding its union to Turkey (p. 150). The Russian Church at the beginning of the 20th century was a unit administered by the State in a vast country dominated culturally by the struggle between Slavophiles, in search of their identity in their own roots in Russia, and Westernizers, looking towards the West for their identity (p. 151). Under Nicholas II religious liberty was granted to the point that one could pass from Orthodoxy to another religion, and the numbers of monks went up (p. 152). The provisional government of 1917 allowed for the choice of a new patriarch of Moscow (pp. 152-153). Under Nicholas I the Uniate Church, which came under Russian rule because of the partition of Poland, was annihilated (p. 153). Napoleon's short stay in Egypt brought the Copts no advantages, the

long rule of Mehmed 'Ali (1805-1849) did. In 1724 a Catholic Melchite patriarchate came into being, which Maxim III Mazlum (d. 1855), one of the most outstanding patriarchs of this Church, helped re-organize (p. 155). The Jacobite Church was almost decimated, as the statistics Fedalto gives go to show (p. 155). The Church of the East was greatly reduced in numbers because so many of its faithful were massacred (p. 156). The British rule on Cyprus, from 1878 to 1925, favoured more religious freedom, but not political unity with Greece (p. 156). The Armenian patriarch of Constantinople, in the 19th century incorporated the catholicosate of Sis or Cicilia and exercised jurisdiction over all Armenians in the Ottoman empire (p. 156), seeds of much tension with Etchmiadzin. In 1917 the Georgian church re-established the catholicosate (p. 157). Among the Christians of St. Thomas, an Anglican influenced Church was created, and the Malankara Orthodox Church divided into two over Church reform in 1912. Mar Ivanios became a Catholic and founded the Syro-Catholic Malankara Church (pp. 157-158). The list of Carmelite bishops continued until 1887 when Leo XIII established two apostolic vicariates in Kerala, with seats in Trichur and Kottayam (p. 159): on this occasion this Catholic Eastern Church became known as the Syro-Malabar Church (pp. 159-160).

After World War I, besides the fall of four empires, the German, the Austrian, the Russian and the Ottoman, a new constellation called Yugoslavia came about by joining Croatia and Slovenia, as well as Bosnia and Herzegovina to Serbia (p. 161). To assure peaceful transition, France and England took over the Middle East mandates, Syria and later Lebanon for the former, Palestine and Mesopotamia for the latter. Turkey established a republican regime in Ankara in 1923 (p. 161). The Soviet Union, born on December 30, 1922 and died on 26 December 1991, was already practically dead with the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989, which brought the dreadful chapter of communism to a halt (p. 162). John XXIII and John Paul II played a significant role in establishing contacts with the Eastern churches (p. 163).

Constantinople had to abandon a number of metropolitantes, because the new Turkish government preferred Islam, and Halki was closed in 1971. The few thousands of Greeks that have stayed belong to different Churches (p. 163). The Uniate Churches suffered very much, but they are now recovering (pp. 163-164). Estonia and Poland had their share of suffering, but also of recovery, and so did Finland, with its sizeable Orthodox Church (p. 164). In 1989, 96% of the population in Greece declared itself to be Orthodox (p. 165). For Mount Athos only Orthodoxy is the one holy Catholic and apostolic Church (p. 166). In 1948, in Romania, 1,600,000 Greek Catholics were forcibly declared orthodox (p. 167).

Next follows a section on Russian churches. Famine struck Russia in 1922. Due to the compromises the Russian Orthodox Church had to make, it soon found itself confronted by the Living Church (p. 168). Lenin died in 1924; Patriarch Tychon in 1925. In the census of 1936, 55% of the population declared itself Orthodox, much to everybody's surprise, and in spite of the toll in blood for those who persisted to believe. The discrimination and even persecution of the Church came to an end only with Gorbachov (p. 172). After the fall of Communism the Latin eparchy of

Mukachevo was established, and a bishop named for it in 1991, yet many Eastern Christians preferred to emigrate to the USA (p. 172).

In 1846 the Orthodox patriarch of Alexandria returned to Egypt (p. 173). When the communist government fell in 1991, the Ethiopian patriarch was exiled and a new one elected (p. 174). The Melkite Catholic Church is the most prosperous after the Maronite (pp. 174-175). England granted Cyprus independence in 1960 (p. 175). The Armenian patriarchate of Cilicia was transferred to Beirut. Russia sold Alaska, where there was already a budding Orthodox community, to USA in 1867 (p. 176). With the influx of refugees after 1917, American Orthodoxy was variegated, so that it declared its autonomy from Moscow in 1924, which Moscow recognized as autocephaly in 1970 (p. 178). The ROCOR, the Orthodox Church outside of the Confines, reconciled itself with Moscow in 2007 (p. 178). The Orthodox are present in many parts of Africa (p. 179). In a word, we come across bishoprics and metropolitanates beyond the traditional confines of the Churches (p. 179). In India, after the debacle of the Jesuits known as the Coonan Cross, the situation continued to deteriorate even after the arrival of the Discalced Carmelites (pp. 179-180). Even today, as a reflex of the latinization that had been going on, the native clergy prefers to collaborate with their colleagues from Asia, than from the west (p. 182).

Particularly interesting are the conclusions, typically entitled "Towards the Globalization of the Planet" (p. 182), with the underlying thesis that the world is proceeding towards the globalization of its knowledge and its relations (p. 182). After lengthy differentiations one can understand how difficult it is to recompose once more the primordial unity taking into account its subsequent development (p. 183). For example, the so-called canon 28 of Chalcedon attributed to Constantinople a real primacy subsequent only to that of Rome on the political basis of its being the new Rome, thereby annulling the apostolic principle used for Rome (p. 183). In order to restore communion one must first recuperate union between these Churches (p. 184).

Of course, the examples chosen are not meant to be comprehensive and are chosen somewhat at random, yet they suffice to show the wealth contained in this short work. Fedalto's aim is primarily to shed light on the historical background of dogma, and some of his assertions in the area of dogma need differentiation. Thus, he depicts Nestorius as in contradiction with the Council of Ephesus (p. 40), a typical thesis held prior to the post-conciliar manuals and the current phase of dialogue and contrary to Cardinal A. Grillmeier's research that the heresy condemned at Ephesus cannot be ascribed to Nestorius. However, a few pages later (p. 62), the Nestorian question is correctly differentiated in the sense of depending on linguistic and terminological issues (p. 62). A strength of the work is Fedalto's interest in setting up the list of metropolitans and their suffragans, at least by giving some statistics: e.g., those who depended on Seleucia-Ctesiphon (p. 41), Jerusalem (p. 83), the Byzantine Church (p. 111), the bishops of Thessalonica (p. 112), the metropolitanates in Constantinople in various times (p. 148), for the Carmelite bishops in Malabar (p. 159); indeed, there are statistics and/or lists of bishops for practically

all major areas. No wonder, for the author established his fame precisely through such publications as the *Hierarchia ecclesiastica orientalis*, III vols., Padova 1988-2006. In view of so many compact merits, this reviewer recommends heartily this excellent synopsis of the Eastern Churches. A connoisseur, at most misses an index which would help the reader to get to the matter in question very quickly.

E. G. Farrugia, S.J.

Hallensleben, Barbara (Hrsg.), *Einheit in Synodalität. Die offiziellen Dokumente der Orthodoxen Synode auf Kreta 18. bis 26. Juni 2016* (Epiphania), Aschendorff Verlag, Münster 2016, pp. iv, 112.

The idea behind the present documentation was inspired by the solemn conclusive ceremony, celebrated in the Church of Sts. Peter and Paul in Chania, Crete, to conclude the Synod of Crete held there from 18th to 26th June 2016. The very name of the Church recalls the icon of these two saints embracing one another, which in turn served as the archetype for the well-known icon which hangs in the Pontifical Counsel for the Promotion of Christian Unity, Rome, showing Sts Peter and Andrew in a similar posture. On the occasion of the Synod itself, Prof. Guido Vergauen, OP and Prof. Barbara Hallensleben presented a copy of *Orthodoxia 2016-2017*, edited by Nicholas Wyrwoll, to all the Orthodox bishops gathered there (p. 1). The editor has provided a German translation over and above those already published, in Greek, Russian, English and French (p. ii). The title itself, the Synod in Crete, is a neat way of circumventing the issue of whether it was a Pan-Orthodox Synod, as its organizers would have it, or not, as those who stayed away claim. By Orthodox standards one may safely leave the matter to that best of arbiters, reception, acknowledged by all sides in the Orthodox debate, however much time such an arbiter may take to decide. For a synod to be recognized by the Orthodox Church it has to be accepted in the long-run by the faithful taken in their entirety. Among the Orthodox the desire to inject new life into synodality has many noble precedents, reaching back to the seven ecumenical councils of the first millennium and revived every time an important council was held subsequently, or even to the Pan-Orthodox conferences of the last century. This desire found expression in the idea of a Pan-Orthodox synod, a widely used expression hard to pin down to concrete examples with which all Orthodox would agree. Another organ of synodality is the *synaxis*, or the assembly of the heads of all fourteen autocephalous Churches (p. ii). The documents on the homepage of the Synod of Crete served as the basis for the present translation. For all the co-operation from official Orthodox side, no claim is being made here that the translation enjoys official Orthodox approval (p. iii). The translated documents include not only those agreed upon in Crete, but also the agenda approved by the Synaxis of Primates in Chambésy from 21 to 28 January 2016 (pp. 5-12), the "Patriarchal and Synodical Encyclical regarding the Convocation of the Holy and Great Synod of the Orthodox Church" (pp. 1-4), published in Constantinople on the Sunday of Orthodoxy 2016 (pp. 1-4), the opening

address of Patriarch Bartholomew (pp. 13-29), the "Message of the Holy and Great Synod of the Orthodox Church" (pp. 30-36), the Encyclical of the Holy and Great Synod of the Orthodox Church" (pp. 37-55), and then the documents themselves: "The Meaning of Fasting and its Observance today" (pp. 56-61), "The Sacrament of Marriage and its Impediments" (pp. 62-66), "Autonomy and how to proclaim it" (pp. 67-69), "The Orthodox Diaspora " (pp. 70-77), "The Relation of the Orthodox Church to the rest of the Christian World" (pp. 78-86), and, the last and longest of the six documents, "The Mission of the Orthodox Church in today's World" (pp. 87-101). In the Appendix there are the names of the delegates and their advisers, and the observers (pp. 102-111), The editor thanks in particular Metropolitan Jeremias of Switzerland and Prof. Vlassios Phidas.

The first document concerns the convocation of the Holy and Great Synod of the Orthodox Church, published on the Sunday of Orthodoxy (pp. 1-4). Confronted with heresy such as iconoclasm, where at times it proved so difficult to distinguish between truth and error, Orthodoxy recognizes only the authority of the Synod of its canonical bishops (p. 2). This is the case with all Primates of the Orthodox Churches who agreed to convene the Pan-Orthodox Synod to be held from 18th to 27th of June 2016, planned to begin with a Panorthodox celebration of the divine liturgy in the Church of St Menas in Heraklion on the feast of Pentecost and continue in the Orthodox Academy of Kolymbari near Chania. Its purpose was to manifest that the Orthodox Church is the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church (p. 2). The agenda concerns primarily matters of internal Church structures, but also the relation to the rest of the Christian world. The Orthodox were fully aware that the world was listening, eager to hear what Orthodoxy had to say on the problems which challenge humanity today (p. 3). The documents which were agreed upon in the Pan-Orthodox Synod have long been published, with Patriarch Bartholomew's signature followed by that of the members of his synod.

There follow the other documents. The document spelling out the Synod's way to proceed is the "Organizational and Method of Work of the Holy and Great Council" (pp. 5-12); all fourteen churches signed, either through the respective primate present or through his representative (p. 12). Then comes the "Inaugural Address of His All-Holiness Patriarch Bartholomew at the opening of the Holy and Great Synod" (pp. 12-29), a remarkable speech, even though the patriarch does not fail to express his disappointment when it comes to the absence of those representatives, which though convoked, remained absent (pp. 28-29). The "Message of the Holy and Great Synod of the Orthodox Church" takes a more analytic view of the problems discussed (pp. 30-36). On pages 37-55 we have the "Encyclical of the Holy and Great Synod of the Orthodox Church". Next come the six documents already mentioned. Among the observers listed in the Appendix we note Cardinal Kurt Koch, Bishop Brian Farrell and Fr. Michel Jalakh, Secretary of the World Council of Churches in the Middle East, all Catholics.

The usefulness of such an edition is patent, making accessible as it does to a wide German readership so many important documents, and doing so in an objective and readable way. The lack of any commentary, however, is to be regretted, as

the Synod on Crete was an object lesson in Orthodox ecclesiology and synodality itself. Indeed, the suggestion to hold this type of Synod every seven or ten years, echoed in several speeches during the Synod, may well be one of the most tangible positive results of the gathering, for both Orthodox and non-Orthodox.

E. G. Farrugia, S.J.

MATHEWS Jr., Edward G. (ed.), *On This Day: The Armenian Church Synaxarion. January. A parallel Armenian-English text translated and edited*, Brigham Young University Press, Provo, Utah 2014, pp. xxiv, 269.

Il volume che andiamo presentando costituisce il primo di una serie di dodici che dovrebbero, nell'intenzione dell'Autore, portare alla pubblicazione dell'intero *Sinassario* armeno, o più propriamente *Yaysmawowrk'* ("In questo giorno"), dalla formula incipitaria della gran parte delle agiografie quotidiane. L'intento del curatore, dichiarato a p. xx dell'Introduzione, è prevalentemente pastorale. Il lettore pertanto non può aspettarsi di trovare un ricco apparato in calce al testo, nel quale si dia conto delle fonti e della complessa tradizione che sta alle spalle di questa raccolta. Di fatto viene riprodotto (con alcune modifiche segnalate nell'Introduzione) il testo edito, a più riprese, tra il 1909 e il 1930, da G. Bayan nella *Patrologia Orientalis*. Bayan affiancava la traduzione francese, mentre Mathews offre una buona traduzione inglese. Ottima la veste grafica e l'impaginazione, nonché la scelta di dedicare un singolo, maneggevole volume ad ogni mese.

Il pregio maggiore del lavoro di Mathews, oltre a rendere più accessibile al grande pubblico occidentale un testo reperibile di fatto solo in biblioteche ad alta specializzazione (benché l'edizione di Bayan sia ora disponibile su Internet in versione scansionata), è costituito dalla breve, ma preziosa Introduzione, nella quale l'autore, con estrema chiarezza, traccia un quadro sintetico dei problemi sottostanti alla complessa tradizione del *Sinassario* armeno, che fu tradotto senza dubbio dal greco a partire dal X secolo, e subì numerosi rimaneggiamenti, aggiornamenti, adattamenti nei secoli successivi, testimoniati oggi dalle diverse redazioni reperibili nella tradizione manoscritta, e delle quali non esiste purtroppo ancora un'edizione critica.

Un lavoro interessante e prodromo a un'eventuale edizione critica, segnalato da Mathews, è quello che ha iniziato in Armenia l'arcivescovo Yeznik Petrosyan, cioè una sinossi delle varie redazioni reperibili nei codici [Y. Petrosyan (ed.), *Yamabarbaṙ Yaysmawowrk' A: Yownwar (naxacerenc'yan 7 xmbagrowt'yownneri)*, Etchmiadzin 2008]. Purtroppo, come accade non di rado in ambito armenistico, si verifica una certa impermeabilità tra il lavoro scientifico prodotto in Armenia e quello prodotto in Occidente, e ciò va a detrimento dello sviluppo degli studi, che potrebbero al contrario trarre giovamento da una maggiore sinergia.

Il lavoro di Mathews corregge felicemente un errore, ormai inveterato, che risale all'edizione, peraltro benemerita, di Bayan, il quale aveva intitolato il proprio lavoro: *Le synaxaire arménien de Tēr Israel.* È un colofone del ms. 631 della bibliote-

ca dei Mechitaristi di Venezia ad attribuire a un monaco di nome Tēr Israel, morto nel 1249, la versione del *Sinassario* riportata dallo stesso manoscritto veneziano, versione che inizia con il 1 gennaio in accordo con il calendario giuliano. In realtà l'edizione di Bayan si basa sul ms. arm. 180 della Biblioteca Nazionale di Francia, che riporta una redazione differente, quella del 1269 attribuita a Kirakos Arewelc'i, compilata nella città di Sis, capitale del regno armeno di Cilicia. Tale redazione differisce da quella di Tēr Israel, perché aggiunge, tra l'altro, una serie cospicua di santi armeni e riadatta l'opera al calendario armeno, che inizia con il 1 del mese di *navasard*, che corrisponde all'8 agosto. Mathews, pur rifacendosi all'edizione di Bayan, elimina giustamente il riferimento a Tēr Israel.

In conclusione, il lavoro di Mathews, pur non apportando significativi progressi alla conoscenza della complessa tradizione del *Sinassario* armeno, offre un ottimo esempio di alta divulgazione, che in ambito armenistico e più che mai auspicabile e necessaria, essendo la letteratura armena ancora appannaggio quasi esclusivo di una ristrettissima cerchia di specialisti. L'autore auspica di pubblicare un volume all'anno. Difficilmente, nei prossimi anni, si può sperare in un'edizione critica del *Sinassario*. Pertanto l'impresa di Mathews dovrebbe risultare utile anche in futuro, una volta completata la serie.

R. Pane

THÉODORET DE CYR, *La Trinité et l'incarnation* (*De theologia sanctae Trinitatis et de oeconomia*); vol. 1: *La Trinité sainte et vivifiante*; vol. 2: *L'Incarnation du Seigneur*. Texte critique, introduction, traduction, notes et annexes Jean-Noël GUINOT (Sources Chrétiennes, 574-575), Les Éditions du Cerf, Paris 2015, pp. 403 e 447.

Jean-Noël Guinot has unearthed an artifact from fifteen centuries of hiding to give us the first critical edition of Theodoret of Cyrus' twofold dogmatic treaty, *De theologia sanctae trinitatis et de œconomia* (CPG 6216). The work has survived the turbulence of the Christological controversies by a thread, i.e., a single Vatican manuscript, *Vat. gr.* 841, largely thanks to its false attribution to the more popular Cyril of Alexandria.

Those seeking to grasp the full scope of the Antiochene's theology may now savor the texts as a single massive *opus*, which has evolved since the insights of two consecutive editions produced by Card. Angelo Mai (the first for the *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio*, t. VIII, in 1833, and the second for the *Nova patrum bibliotheca*, t. II, in 1844). Dom. Jacques-Paul Migne's *Patrologia* adopted the second of the two editions for his publication of the text in 1859, t. 75. Both Mai and Migne had credited Cyril for the work. The first of Guinot's two volumes (SC 574), opens with a copious introduction and presents the first work, *Sur la Trinité sainte et vivificante* (*De sancta et vivifica trinitate*). The second (SC 575), continues with *l'Incarnation* (*De incarnatione domini*) followed by a substantial annex with three documents: the Greek and Latin fragments of the *Pentalogos* (CPG 6215), a previ-

ously unedited apologetic *Lettre à Helladès et Théophile*, and an *opusculum* on the unity of Christ here entitled, *Un unique Fils après l'Incarnation* (CPG 6219).

All in all, the volumes serve to broaden the doctrinal exposition of Theodoret of Cyrus, already partially supplied by some other eleven *Sources Chrétiennes* volumes. The French translation that accompanies the text constitutes the second modern translation to appear after I. Pásztori-Kupán's English translation published in 2006. Analytical enquiries that complement the text include the *apparatus criticus* and *apparatus fontium*, judicious but concise glosses, indices of biblical references and proper names. Indices of the critical Greek and Latin words have been neatly arranged for each text.

Guinot's introduction satisfies a twofold purpose. He restores the authorship to Theodoret and demonstrates the unity of the two parts of the treatise by a thorough examination of all the chief critical issues: authenticity and date, internal analysis and structure, the significance and function of the work within the framework of the author's theological teaching and historical context. For an improved understanding of the textual composition, he discusses the sources used by the author, and closes with an extensive study of the manuscript tradition.

The introduction suitably begins with a discussion of the work's authorship. Card. Mai published the *editio princeps* under the name of Cyril of Alexandria (1833), celebrating the work for its orthodox doctrine that distinguished the two natures (PG 75, coll. 1473-1474, nn. 1-3). Guinot's research traces the roots of its shifting attribution by means of the direct and indirect manuscript tradition. He reveals the significance and conceivable motives for such an attribution, and ultimately succeeds in locating the *DTI* (*De theologia sanctae Trinitatis et de œconomia Incarnationis*) among the works which Theodoret himself cites in his own epistolary. According to the editor, Theodoret writes to Pope Leo after the *Latrocinium* seeking to "faire appel d'une sentence injuste et de donner des gages de son orthodoxie," (SC 574, p. 7); Guinot's contribution in the past year not only echoes but fulfills Theodoret's self-justification made in 449.

Guinot approaches the task of restoring the work to Theodoret's name principally by availing himself of external testimonies, which, as he writes, have made it possible to reconstruct the original author "de manière incontestable." He thereby perfects the original thesis of Albert Ehrhard in 1888, whose references drawn from Theodoret's other writings provided the first proof, and culls the elaborations of scholars Eduard Schwartz, Joseph Lebon, Robert Devreese, and Marcel Richard. He finally adduces the writings of Monophysite bishop Severus of Antioch to provide the definitive proof of authorship. Indeed, as laid out by the editor, the explicit testimony of this 6th century witness who names Theodoret's work by title, author, and incipit leaves very little doubt about the long befuddled matter.

As for the motivations for the historical misattribution, Guinot questions Lebon's theory involving a neo-Chalcedonian intervention at the beginning of the 6th century intended to mollify Monophysites into accepting the formulas of Chalcedon. In the end, the time frame of the pseudepigraphy, like the motive itself, are still debatable. Whatever the case, however, whether the work was masked before

or after the condemnation of Theodoret's anti-Cyrillian works in 553, Guinot's meticulous presentation of the manuscript tradition, both direct and indirect, persuasively identifies the fraud as an attempt to guarantee survival from the shipwreck of his theological works by taking refuge in a vessel that bore the name of Cyril.

The true novelty of Guinot's discoveries, however, does not consist so much in the attribution of authorship, which he advances from the conclusions of Ehrhard among others, as much as in its revision of date. This forms the pinnacle of his argumentation. If, as Guinot states, Theodoret's particular position in the Christological debates of the 5th century, reflected in the confrontations of Antioch and Alexandria, confers a specific importance to the dating of the *DTI*, we are moreover led to observe that the reverse is also the case: the dating of the *DTI* may be the key to seizing the breadth of his stance in the controversies.

Mindful of the fragility of a statement on dating based on internal criteria alone, albeit favorable, the editor offers a series of indirect sources that allude to the piece. This evidence leads him to infer a redaction at approximately 430, a date now clarified for the first time in scholarship. Such a "moment charnière" (SC 574, p. 47) allows the text to be associated with the beginning of the doctrinal debate ignited by the Nestorian crisis but not yet consummate. Furthermore, it limits it to a timeframe prior to the *Refutation of the Anathemas of Cyril* (436) and, even more innovatively, before the Council of Ephesus (p. 42).

The second chapter of the introduction entails an analysis and structure of the treaty that supports the informed decision of publishing the texts as an *ensemble*. After recapitulating Lebon's findings based on the testimony of Severus, Guinot offers further evidence based on its internal logic, as well as the external presentation, that is, the juxtaposition of the texts in the *Vat. gr.* 841. He advances the theory by postulating that the prologue, today only partially extant, would have revealed the organic nature of the entire treaty. This is a reasonable claim, given the general orientation that characterizes the opening chapters of both discourses, as well as the conclusion to the second part of the treatise, which encompasses the main arguments of both. The hypothesis that the prologue would have been purposely suppressed sometime after the 6th century so as to enable its false attribution to Cyril is more than plausible, given the severity of the harangues then hurled against Theodoret by his opponents.

The internal structure of the treaty receives equal attention. Guinot determines the division of the *capitula* to be autographical through the acknowledgement of ancient authors such as Severus of Antioch and Marius Mercator. He also offers resolutions to numerous discrepancies between the versions of indirect witnesses (*kephalaia)* by a thorough codicological analyses and descriptions. Potential modifications of doctrine prove crucial to the classification of the *kephalaia*. When such issues arise in the text, Guinot annotates the choice with particularly keen discrimination (SC 574, p. 251, n. 3; p. 300, n. 1). In fact, the commentary on the *kephalaia*, which marks the entire work, might even appear overdone if one were not familiar with the thorny subject and implications of this typically Byzantine genre.

The third chapter in the Introduction, dedicated to Theodoret's use of Scripture, aims to purify the truths of the faith from heretical interpretations. As Guinot points out, the inclusion of a steady stream of biblical references to support the dogmatic exposition reflects a conscious role of the exegete whose every theological teaching springs from the Sacred text, which holds first place, and not vice versa. Guinot identifies Theodoret primarily as an exegete, which harmonizes with the self-identification of many other patristic writers, who seldom start with anything besides Scripture.

In the fourth introductory chapter Guinot regards the topic of sources, and wittingly introduces a more speculative portion of the analysis. After a review of the contemporaneous texts, he concludes that the conditions do not allow for any definitive relation of the sources to the *DTI*. He does, however, allude to parallels between Theodoret's Trinitarian discourse and the *Dialogues on the Trinity* of Cyril. He leaves this question, however, intriguingly open; to suggest a common source, one would have to know how at least to treat, if not reconcile, their notable differences. On the basis of dating, he excludes an analogous relation for Theodoret's discourse on the Incarnation to any work of Cyril, and instead proposes a treaty on the Incarnation by Theodore of Mopsuestia as the most probable common source. Any such claim for texts of this era is usually problematic, since most contemporary sources mirror each other in organization and doctrinal emphasis. Furthermore, it does not help the matter that only fragments of Theodore's text remain to us today. All the same, Guinot's arguments based on position, structure, topic, and word choice produce convincing criteria.

As regards the manuscripts discussed in the fifth chapter, the *codex unicus*, *Vat. gr.* 841, comprises the *DTI* in its entirety. Likely other manuscripts suffered destruction after the condemnation of the author's works in 553. On the other hand, the association with Cyril's name inspired a plethora of manuscripts that form its indirect tradition. The references to the *De incarnatione* far exceed those to the *De trinitate*, but this discrepancy in reception is to be expected in the heat of the Council of Chalcedon. Guinot displays the findings in two ways: first, he gives a precise inventory of indirect sources by author, paired with corresponding references in Theodoret's treaty. He then lists the parts of the treaty in order, and pairs each part with all pertinent indirect references, weighing their importance in reconstructing particular points of text. Besides, not only has our editor collated the original *Vat. gr.* 841 with the indirect references, but he has also collated the indirect references themselves: of particular note, Euthymios Zigabenos' *Panoplia dogmatica* and Nicetas' *Catena* on Luke. The multiple collations offer a good solution to the poverty of direct witnesses and serve to render the text sounder. Collations from 4 *codices vaticani graeci* and 22 other manuscripts of the *Panoplia*, and those from 15 of the *Catena* contribute to the stability of this restored transmission.

According to his *ratio edendi*, Guinot has tailored both text and translation to represent *Vat. gr.* 841, which remains the single direct source of the entire text. The accomplished editor uses the indirect tradition only to amend the most obvious scribal errors, and has chosen not to adopt the normalizations of the indi-

rect witnesses even if more logical, though the apparatus includes them. Biblical references have been similarly transmitted without accommodation to the *textus receptus*, even when other more ancient, indirect witnesses corroborate the latter. Rather than adapting to the so-called canonical standards, these decisions favor the production of the more authentic text.

The set of notes covers a vast philological and paleographical background. Necessary both for the theological argument as well as the authorship and dating of the work, precisions about terms serve as a sort of ready index of fundamentals for the reader: ὁμοούσιος (SC 574, p. 288, n. 1); the distinction between φύσις and οὐσία; πρόσωπον and ὑπόστασις (SC 574, p. 294, n. 1); the implications of the interchangeable use of ἕνωσις and συνάφεια (SC 575, p. 45, n. 2; p. 93 n. 5; p. 109, n. 2). The philosophical explanation of τὸ ἦν and τὸ ἐγένετο is succinct (SC 574, p. 101; p. 255, n. 4; SC 575, p. 104, n. 1; p. 157, n. 2). The commentary indicates the passages that are relevant to Eunomius, Sabellius, and Cyril as well as the heretical positions of Arius, Eunomius, Apollinarius, Marcion, and Mani with regard to the Incarnation.

The translation mirrors the original Greek as literally as French idiom allows. A lexical list at the end of the introduction explains the translation decisions of selected theological concepts. For example, the rendering of ἐνανθρώπησις as "incarnation" significantly improves on "inhumanation," the infelicitous equivalent given in the English translation. Other noteworthy choices include "intelligence" for νοῦς, particularly central to the anti-Apollinarian polemic, and "conjonction" for συνάφεια, which better distinguishes the concept from ἕνωσις, or "union." For the term οὐσία he decides upon "substance" rather than the more obvious but less precise "essence;" this choice allows for a ready correlation both to ὁμοούσιος as "consubstantiel" and to the term *substantia* in the Latin fragments.

The presentation of the smaller Latin excerpts alongside the Greek ones, even for *opusculi* such as *De trinitate* of the *Collectio sangermanensis* or the *Pentalogos*, adds a hitherto unknown benefit: a sharper philological comparison to achieve a truer sense of terms, or rather, their more definite ambivalence. In the introductions to both pertinent excerpts and in a few notes (SC 574, p. 350, nn. 1-3) Guinot shows how the Latin translations expand the study of the Christological debate.

Theodoret's texts themselves reveal interesting surprises. The first part of the treatise on the Trinity constitutes a regular summary of the orthodox faith according to the Councils of Nicaea and Constantinople, which even harmoniously aligns to the treatises of Cyril in many significant points of doctrine, as Guinot indicates (SC 547, p. 125). The two-fold treatise reflects the practice of theology proper to the era: any Trinitarian exposition must also include a Christological one. True to form, Theodoret's second section of the discourse on the Trinity (*Incarn.* 20-23; 30-33) is detailed, polemical, and long. Theodoret's promise of brevity in the prologue (τῇ βραχυλογίᾳ, *Trin.* 3 and protestations of a simple address to mere nurslings of the faith (τροφίμοις τῆς πίστεως, *Trin.* 3) may therefore be reassessed. His self-conscious apology at the end of the section dedicated to the Son suggests an underlying intention of a more polished and polemical work.

The historical controversy over Theodoret's teachings makes it worth noting a few crucial points of his doctrine on the Incarnation. Guinot supplies a scheme in the introduction that outlines the three core parts. Firstly, chapters 8-21 explicate the Hymn of the Kenosis and other Pauline expressions in order to prove that the Word had truly assumed a complete and perfect humanity. Secondly, in chapters 22-23, he asserts the distinction of the natures by referring to the prologue of Hebrews; all throughout this section he reinforces the concept of Christ's unity of person. Finally, in chapters 30-34, the Antiochene exegete discusses the union of the two natures: indissolubly united, ἀχωρίστως (*Incarn*. 30), but distinct, οὐ τὰς φύσεις τοίνυν συγχέομεν, οὐδὲ κρᾶσιν ποιητοῦ καὶ ποιήματος δογματίζομεν (*Incarn*. 34).

Finally, Guinot's discussion of the title of the 37th chapter of the discourse on the Incarnation, Ὅτι χρὴ θεοτόκον καὶ ἀνθρωποτόκον <λέγειν> deserves scrutiny. Guinot first challenges the theory of Richard, who claimed the chapter to be an addition created *a posteriori* in the wake of the Nestorian crisis. Guinot disagrees, giving the title a hypothetical date of 429 or 430, close enough to the beginning of the Nestorian crisis for the distinction to have been uttered, but not yet so provocative as to be avoided. It is perplexing, however, that here he seems to dismiss the polemical weight of this title in the dispute that he has elsewhere fully acknowledged. In the Introduction, for example, he writes, "Théodoret paraît faire très directement écho du débat engagé entre Cyrille et Nestorius autour du vocable *théotokos*" (SC 574, p. 45). On the other hand, in the gloss of the text he classifies it as a logical consequence to the preceding arguments, commenting moreover "on reste surpris de l'importance que lui donne le titre du chapitre" (SC 575, p. 160, n. 2). The assertion that the double title results from his distinction of the two natures is easily permissible. It is more difficult to believe, however, that in what Guinot himself recognizes as the "cristallisation du débat entre Cyrille et les Orientaux autour de l'épithète *théotokos*" (SC 575, p. 160, n. 2), the *capitulum* would not also function as an assertion, and not such a simple one as Guinot comments to be "sans passion apparente" (SC 574, p. 45). The mere inclusion of the expression connotes the controversy. Nevertheless, Guinot provides the full historical frame by noting the later instances of Theodoret's abandonment of the charged title, such as in his letter to the bishop Irenaeus. Guinot rightly explains that after the Formula of Union in 433, Theodoret not only omits the addition but becomes its defender, enjoining him not to reject the noble term and justifying the use of the *theotokos* without the addition of *anthropotokos* (cf. *Ep*. 110, SC 111).

All in all, Guinot has produced an essential component of Theodoret's doctrine on the Trinity and the Incarnation that may now elucidate his other works. Moreover, he brings to light a crucial link in the history of the Nestorian crisis that marked the Christological discussion of the 5th century and thereafter. For the benefit of theologians and historians alike, Guinot has graced us with the closest approximation of Theodoret's original treatise.

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STAVRAKOS, Christos, *The Sixteenth Century Donor Inscriptions in the Monastery of the Dormition of the Virgin (Theotokos Molybdoskepastos): The Legend of the Emperor Constantine IV as Founder of the Monasteries in Epirus*, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2013, pp. 236 con foto e piante in b-n.

Pur vero che l'A. tratta d'una piccola chiesa resa nota grazie a delle iscrizioni recante il nome dell'imperatore Costantino IV Pogonato come fondatore, ma v'è in questa pubblicazione una sorprendente descrizione di chiese e monasteri siti all'interno dell'Epiro, in un'area prossima ai confini greco-albanesi. Il monastero della Dormizione della Vergine (Θεοτόκου Μολυβδοσκεπάστου) si trova a 22 km ad ovest di Konitza, a 50 km a nord-ovest di Ioannina, questo per dire lungo una traiettoria che in passato ha visto commerci con Venezia e con la sponda adriatica. Quest'ultima connotazione spiega molte intrigate domande circa il monastero, la sua dedicazione, la sua notorietà (accresciuta anche grazie al pellegrinaggio che si aveva), e tutta l'area. V'è tuttavia da dire che Stavrakos per affrontare il soggetto centrale dell'opera lascia trascorrere metà libro, introducendoci per 80 pagine nella descrizione della regione di Molybdoskepasto-Dipalitza e di Konitsa durante il dominio bizantino e post. Le cartine poste a fine volume (pp. 225-228; l'ultima, tratta da Google Earth, è cattiva ed illeggibile) avrebbero dovute essere più circoscritte per indirizzare il lettore a leggere non solo i siti citati nell'opera, ma anche per visualizzare i percorsi mercantili così tanto importanti per la regione. Nel cap. 3 l'A. affronta le varie iscrizioni presenti nella chiesa; sfortunatamente non si offre una pianta dell'edifico sì da localizzare visivamente le scritte che, credo, avrebbero potuto avere anche una traduzione nel testo. La data desunta dalla principale iscrizione è il 1521 e si afferma che è stato Costantino IV a costruire originariamente la chiesa; dopo molti anni (a dire secoli) v'è stato un rinnovo (ἀνεκένισεν) da parte di Andronico il Comneno Paleologo, grande *dux* (questa titolatura non lo identifica così con l'imperatore Andronico II Paleologo). Questo *dux* viene chiamato in causa e discusso nel cosiddetto "chrysoboullon" (questo documento non è tale in realtà) che l'A. commenta a lungo nel cap. 4. Ad un esame cronologico dell'edificio, credo che sia da scartare l'XI sec. (gli affreschi all'interno della chiesetta non sono stati ancora pubblicati); la presenza di ceramica (p. 75 ss) indizia piuttosto una data iniziale nel pieno XIII sec., ed è rilevante l'alta percentuale di ceramica proveniente dall'Italia e dalla Sicilia. L'altra sicura data è quella offerta dall'iscrizione (1521) per il rinnovo, dove al donatore si aggiunge in modo enfatico e apologetico il legame con l'imperatore Costantino Pogonato (i locali, si nota, sono chiamati "Pogonianitai"). Una terza mano è ascrivibile al XVIII sec., senza tuttavia una cogente testimonianza.

Stavrakos ha fatto un lavoro paziente e dettagliato nel documentare non solo la storia del monastero della Dormizione, ma anche quelli propinqui; ha sottolineato molto bene le motivazioni per l'appellativo attribuito al monastero e il diffuso benessere economico della regione nel XVI sec. e oltre: è certamente un lavoro ben documentato, pur se volto ad uno spaccato geografico molto limitato. Le foto avrebbero dovuto avere una propria numerazione da apporre anche nel testo e pro-

babilmente quella a p. 108 rappresenta il "southern side" della chiesa a Kledonia, e non il "northern" (a meno che l'abside non volga ad ovest).

V. Ruggieri, S.J.

THEOGNOSTOS, *Treasury*; introduction, translation and notes by Joseph A. MUNITIZ (Corpus Christianorum in Translation, 16), Brepols, Turnhout 2013, pp. 310.

"Sacro (ἱερά) è questo libro, collazionato da diversi scritti per il beneficio dei lettori sì da condurli alla salutare conoscenza della scienza di Dio." Tale è il frontespizio di quest'opera che si chiude con un diretto indirizzo al lettore (questa volta chiamato φίλος, amico): "Abbandona, amico, la pletora di volumi e libri ... Guarda, qui il tesoro". Ed in realtà il *Thesauros* dello hieromonachos Theognostos è un ricco vademecum della sana dottrina ortodossa, compilato fra il 1252-53 (XI, 7; p. 98, n. b), inteso certamente per un pubblico adulto (forse l'A. venne incoraggiato da Giovanni III Vatatzes). L'opera è una elegante e precisa traduzione dell'*editio princeps*, sempre per mano di J.A. Munitiz, apparsa nel 1979 (CCSG 5) a Lovanio. Il testo scorre piacevolmente con attente referenze ai "vari diversi scritti" da cui Theognostos ha attinto, e qui e lì Munitiz aggiunge chiarificazioni su qualche pensiero complesso dell'autore greco. A ragione il Curatore ha creato tre gruppi dei venti capitoli dell'opera: i capp. I-VI riguardano il mondo dell'Antico Testamento; i capp. VII-XIV trattano di cristologia, dell'importanza educativa derivante dalla lettura della Sacra Scrittura, della fede, del battesimo, della *Theotókos*, dei pilastri dei sette concili ecumenici e di estratti patristici; i capp. XV-XX apportano una catechesi più immediata attinta da esortazioni, scritti patristici e dalle "domande-e-risposte", un genere letterario ben conosciuto dai bizantini. A parte l'acceso astio verso le donne (II, 2), Theognostos ha sprazzi di riflessione di bella natura: l'immensa bontà di Dio che avrebbe perdonato anche il diavolo, se si fosse questo pentito (VII, 5); l'indulgente sguardo per coloro che donano a chi è in bisogno, ma timidi per chiedere (XX, 42, 1). La lunga storia di Macario in dialogo con l'angelo a proposito della morte e dell'aldilà (XV, 4) offre una bella sintesi sulla riflessione bizantina medievale circa la sorte e giudizio delle anime dopo la morte. Nello scorrere queste pagine, a parte spunti di notevole interesse, si ha la evidente percezione di uno sforzo nel sintetizzare tutti i capitoli, argomenti, quelli più cogenti della dottrina ortodossa nella capitale del XIII sec. Si aggiunga a modo di complemento, le pagine che L. Silvano ha scritto a proposito di Philentolos (*Byz* 86 [2016] 413-414), citato da Theognostos in XV, 6, 1; inavvertiti sono alcuni errori di stampa: p. 123, r. 3 "Counsils"; p. 213, r. 10 "then *a* day Julian ..."; p. 219, 5. 2 togliere il secondo "of the"; p. 225, r. 2 togliere il secondo "that" e r. 14 "I *a*m sure". Si è grati al Curatore per aver reso disponibile ad un più largo pubblico di lettori una così scorrevole visione della dottrina ortodossa creduta nella Costantinopoli del XIII sec.

V. Ruggieri, S.J.

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